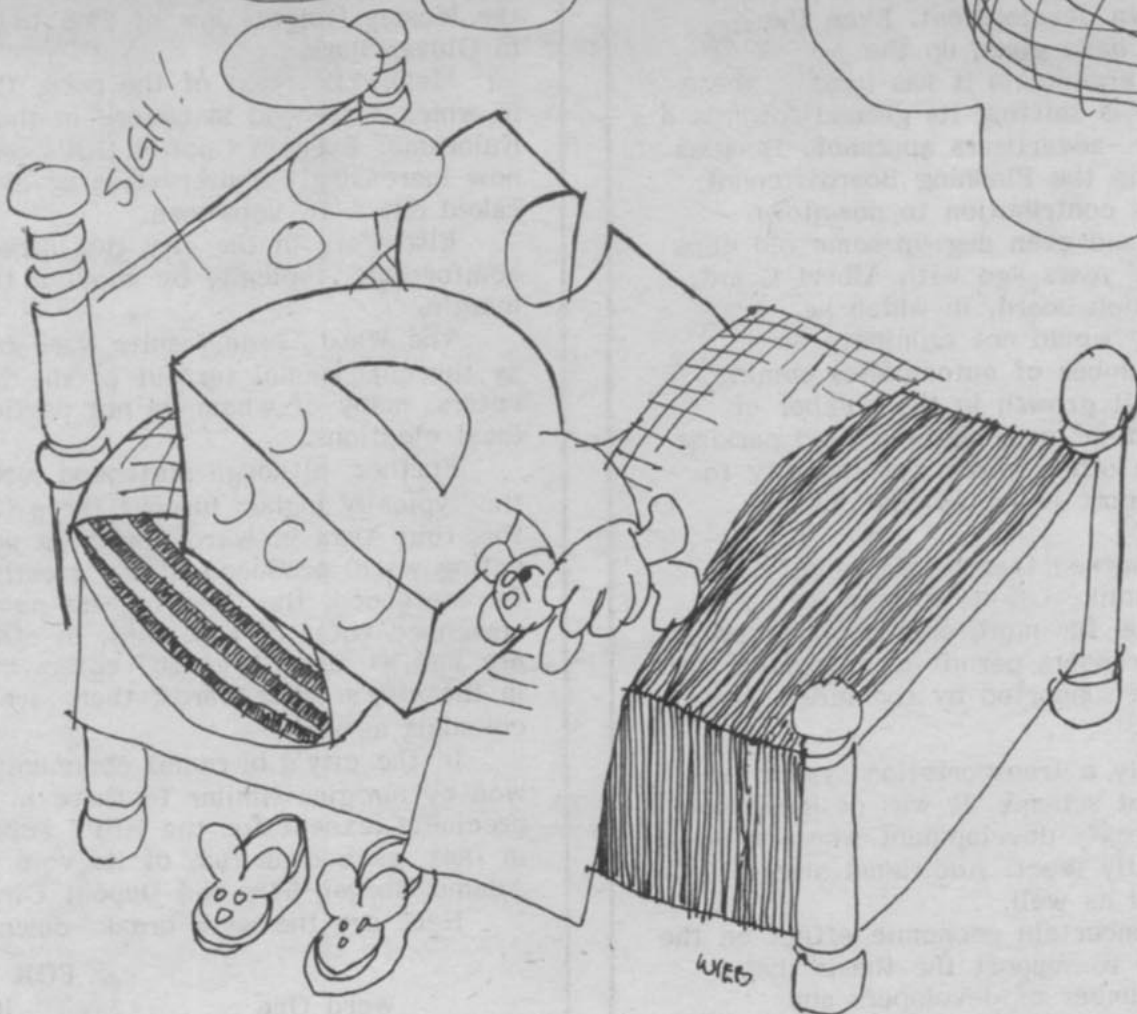


The DC Gazette

DECEMBER 1980

AND HERE IS A
NICE **CONVENTION CENTER**
WITH LOTS OF PRETEND
CONVENTIONS, AND HERE
IS A GREAT BIG OFFICE BUILDING
THAT SOME PEOPLE WILL THINK IS
MONUMENTAL AND USE IT TO REPLACE
OLD AND LITTLE **RHODES TAVERN**,
AND HERE IS A SHINY
FARECARD MACHINE THAT
WORKS AND A BUNCH OF
CITIZEN-LIKE PUPPETS
THAT DEMONSTRATE FOR
HIGHER ZONING AND
HERE IS A **COMPUTER**
THAT IS ALWAYS RIGHT NO
MATTER HOW IT IS PROGRAMMED
(BATTERIES INCLUDED) —
ALL FOR A VERY, VERY
GOOD CITY...





Metroflop continues...

The latest report from the Transportation Planning Board shows a 34% increase over the past five years in the number of persons using buses and subways to come to work downtown, while the number of automobiles and taxis have declined 5%.

These figures will undoubtedly warm the heart of Metro-booster, but underneath the figures lies another story: most of the increase in transit ridership has been due to an increase of 37,000 additional people coming to downtown every day.

In other words, Metro has not served to get people out of cars; it has served as an incredibly expensive public subsidy for downtown development. Even the Washington Post seems to have given up the environmental and transit arguments it has used these many years for Metro and is shifting its ground towards a look-what-it's-done-for-our-advertisers approach. Douglas Feaver in the Post story on the Planning Board's count, dwelled heavily on Metro's contribution to downtown development and business and even dug up some old clips to recall an interview five years ago with Albert Grant, director of the transportation board, in which he predicted that "the subway would not eliminate or substantially reduce the number of automobiles coming downtown, but would permit growth in the number of people and jobs, without major new highways and parking lots. Metro was needed, in other words, for the city to grow economically. The report indicates that his prediction is coming true."

The Gazette has long argued that Metro would not reduce auto traffic, but, unlike Grant, we see its economic contribution to be far more open to question. For the benefit of newer readers permit us to review our thesis, which is once again supported by the latest figures from the Planning Board:

- Metro is not primarily a transportation system at all, but a land development scheme. It was designed not to meet a need, but to create development whose future needs it would only partially meet. Additional street traffic would be generated as well.

- Metro is having an uncertain economic effect on the city. There is no evidence to support the thesis that merely because a small number of developers and landowners are doing substantially better as a result, the city is also prospering. No one has yet produced figures on what downtown contributed to the tax base ten years ago and what it is contributing today, compared with what it cost the government ten years ago and what it is costing today. There is, however, good reason to believe that downtown is a drain on the city today, simply because of all the public money that has been poured into it. In any case, the city's current financial situation

suggests that whatever positive effect there has been to subsidizing downtown it has been minimal at best.

- Metro has not significantly reduced the number of automobiles downtown. Although there has been a five percent decline over the past five years, this period has also seen the oil crunch, restrictive parking policies and higher parking costs. The actual number of persons riding in cars (as opposed to the number of cars) has risen slightly. Also, Metro-inspired construction is still in an early phase. Another five years may show a net increase in auto traffic as a result.

- The jobs that have been created with the help of Metro-inspired construction have been heavily weighted in favor of the suburban commuter. In fact, Metro has made it far easier for the suburbanite to come into town and compete for jobs with DC residents. It has also hurt job markets that favored DC employment such as the smaller retail establishments.

For the past decade we have argued that what an area the size and nature of Washington needed was a mixed system of streetcars, buses (with priority treatment), taxis, jitneys, and restoration of commuter rail. The failure to follow such a course has directly contributed to the city's runaway budgetary problems, an

How statehood fared

In an election that revealed the greatest racial division in the history of recent voting, the statehood initiative easily carried the wards east of Rock Creek Park while losing in Ward Three. One-third of the anti-statehood vote came from Ward Three, where only 37% of the voters supported the initiative.

While the Wesley Heights precinct was voting 71% against statehood, precincts in Far NE, Anacostia and Congress Heights were voting in the even higher seventies for it.

Even "liberal" white neighborhoods like Cleveland Park voted against the initiative although by a closer margin than in the ward as a whole. Support for the initiative in Ward Three ran from the Wesley Heights low of 29% to a high of 47% in Glover Park.

Meanwhile, east of the park, the only precincts in which statehood lost were in the West End and Kalorama. Even in Capitol Hill's once liberal but now increasingly conservative precinct 89, statehood eked out a 16 vote lead.

Elsewhere in the city the initiative carried comfortably, typically by about a two to one margin.

The Ward Three results were obviously affected by the quadrennial turnout of the ward's Republican voters, many of whom do not participate in strictly local elections.

Further, although statehood lost in Ward Three, the typically higher turnout there (23% more voters this time than in Ward Four, the next heaviest voting ward) produced 11,600 mostly white votes for statehood, the third highest number of pro-statehood votes of any ward. In other words, there are just as many Free DC voters in Ward Three as in the city's other wards; there are just more colonials as well.

In the city's bi-racial communities statehood won by margins similar to those in the all-black precincts (except for the Hill's #89). Mt. Pleasant, in fact, gave over 70% of its vote to statehood, Adams Morgan 67% and Dupont Circle 60%.

Here are the ward break-downs:

| | FOR | AGAINST |
|------------|-------|---------|
| Ward One | 10118 | 5056 |
| Ward Two | 9653 | 6740 |
| Ward Three | 11626 | 19440 |
| Ward Four | 14816 | 7502 |
| Ward Five | 11744 | 5981 |
| Ward Six | 10084 | 5548 |
| Ward Seven | 11038 | 5109 |
| Ward Eight | 6408 | 2204 |

inflationary development psychology, destruction of communities, and a shift in the job market even further in favor of the suburbanite. It's been quite a price to pay just to ride a subway.

...and what it's going to cost you

The sensible thing would be to bail out of the subway mess at as little cost as possible. Reducing the system to 67 miles, for example, could save the city \$300 million in capital costs and more than \$100 million a year in operating subsidies by 1990, according to one informed estimate.

But there are no signs that anyone at city hall is preparing a retreat from their masochistic commitment to completion of the full system. They're even talking about adding new lines.

At some point, however, the piper has to be paid. In an incredible document sent to the Department of Transportation last August, Mayor Barry outlined what he calls "stable and reliable" sources of funding for the Metro deficit — as required by the federal government.

The document, which has inspired little interest at the city council and none in the press, states that the mayor is prepared to dedicate all or part of eight taxes to pay for Metroflop. Readers will note with pained amusement that Barry includes such sources as the non-existent professionals tax ~~and the~~ transient accommodations tax (which is also meant to be a stable and reliable source of funding for the convention center) but such quibbles aside, here is how the mayor intends to spend your money for Metro in FY82. (Note: As we went to press the gas sales tax was repealed further unstabilizing his sources):

Sales tax on meals and liquor-by-the-drink: \$40.8 million.

Motor Vehicle Registration Fees: \$15 million

Sales tax on transient accommodations: \$19.8 million

Professionals tax: \$16 million

Ten-cent-a-gallon gasoline tax: \$19.4 million

Parking meter fees: \$6.5 million

The total comes to \$117.5 million or a tad under half the budget for the school system. Now let's move forward to the exciting fiscal year of 1985. By then the mayor will have added \$5.2 million from the parking sales tax and \$17.5 million from the gasoline sales tax plus substantial increases in the other taxes, bringing the total DC cost to a staggering \$257 million.

Barry also stated in his letter to DOT that "The plan assumes the availability of professional tax revenues to fund transportation costs other than the operating subsidies and bond retirement. Should reinstatement of the professionals tax fail, costs will have to be absorbed through service reductions and fare increases."

Since, on paper, the Metrobus deficit appears to be somewhat more than half of the total deficit, the argument will undoubtedly be made that only half the

subsidy is going to the subway. The problem with this argument is that the bus deficit is itself partially due to the development of the subway. Subway lines were built to compete with profitable bus lines, bus routes were gerrymandered to force riders onto the subway, and Metrobus has been promoted with all the enthusiasm of a CIA covert operation—even to the point of being unable to provide a would-be rider with a map of the system. There would certainly be a bus deficit even without the subway, but given Metro's incompetent management of the bus system and the competition of the subway there is no sure way of knowing what that would be.

School wars

It's a little hard to understand why Marion Barry went after the school system with such combativeness. In the end he compromised, but not until he had done considerable damage to his relations with that portion of his constituency that happens to feel that schools are more important, say, than convention centers. Besides, he was way off-base in his stick-it-to-the-schools campaign. Not only were his criticisms a case of unsupportable dispatch of the first stone, but there was no evidence that cutting the school system budget would increase efficiency there. The money would have come out of the classroom just as Barry is saving money by taking it out of the lower levels of city hall employment.

Barry's sudden interest in educational efficiency was rather peculiar. Having long supported such a goal, we should have welcomed his concern, but we didn't because it was evidenced with all the finesse of Howard Jarvis's approach to taxes or Ronald Reagan's approach to the budget. Barry's stance was somewhat akin to that of a surgeon who, having before him an ill patient, arbitrarily excises random portions of the corpus on the grounds that there must be a tumor in there somewhere.

Unfortunately, we were not being asked in budget

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THE DC GAZETTE is published monthly except during the summer, when it is published bimonthly. Deadline for copy is the 15th of each month although short items will be accepted on a space available basis through the 21st of each month.

THE GAZETTE is available by mail for \$5 a year. Single copies by mail are \$1 each. The Gazette is a member of the Alternative Press Syndicate and uses the services of Pacific News Service, College Press Service, Zodia News Service and Community Press Features.

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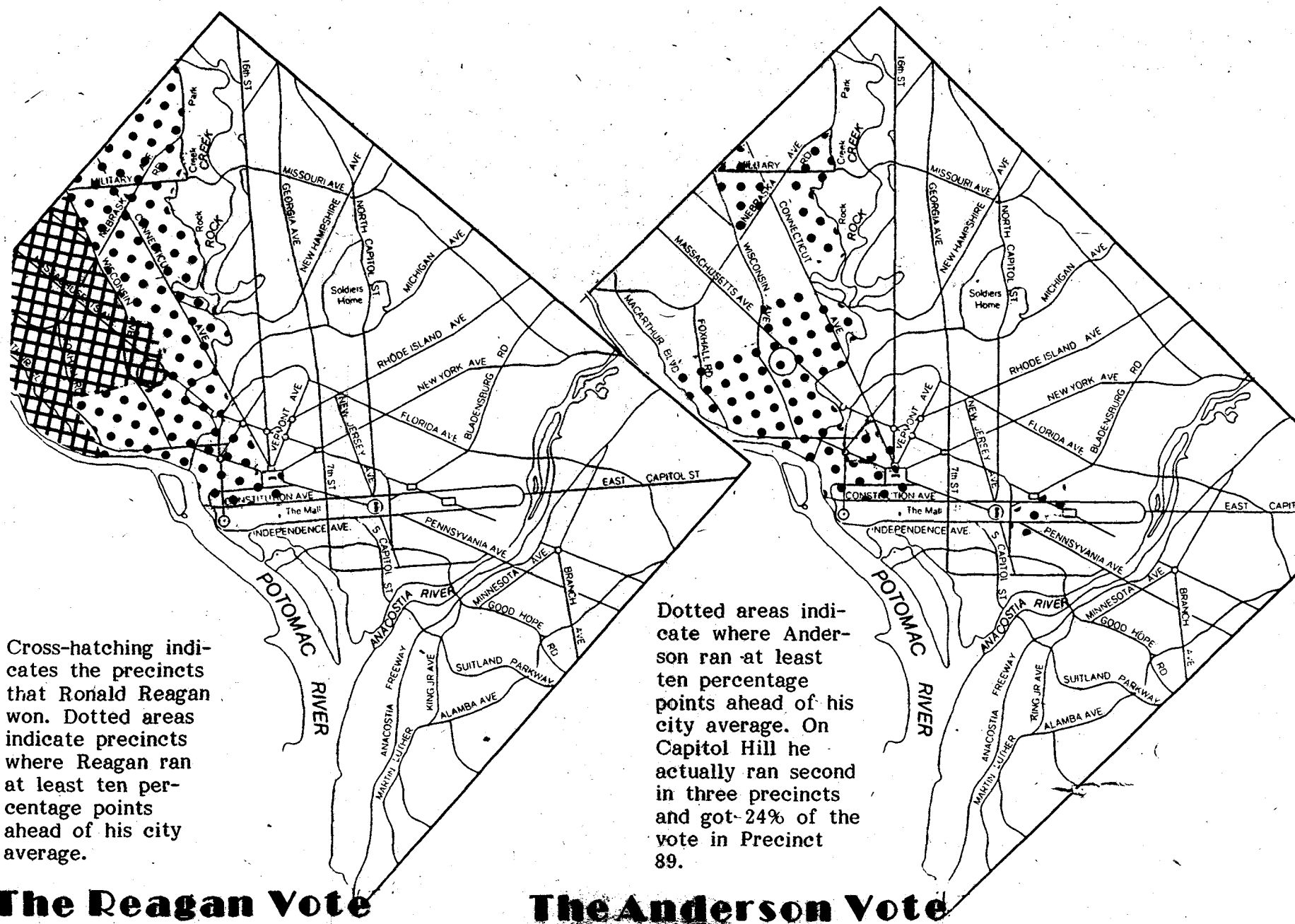
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choices to select between efficiency and waste; we were being asked by the mayor to favor one form of inefficiency — that under his control, over another — that in the domain of the school board. To say that the school system must clean house before it gets a reasonable share of the budget made as much sense as denying the mayor's fiscal advisors any funds until they figured out how to work their computer.

Happily, for the first time in years, a group of parents actually got organized and straightened out both the logic and the politics of all this. Parents United was a welcomed change from the ineffectual bitching and moaning that has characterized community reaction to decisions affecting the schools. We hope they stay in business and stay busy.

THE ELECTION

Last month, DC voters once again illustrated that basic principle of local politics: if you want to stay in office all you have to do is get in. The local electorate is exceedingly kind to incumbents. Walter Washington, of course, was an exception, but he faced two other popular office-holders backed by hefty funds and sophisticated political machiner. Jim Coates in Ward Eight fell by the wayside, Willie Hardy got nervous enough

not to run again and Doug Moore tried for bigger and better things and failed, but on the whole, if you just get elected once, don't start any fights with tow truck operators or get caught jumping out of a lady's window late at night, you've probably got tenure.

It's not that the incumbents are so wonderful. But they do get the media, the money and the spin-off from the general lethargy over what our office-holders are up to.

The election did show a slight drop-off in support for Walter Fauntroy in some parts of the city; it showed John Ray with a political base similar to that of Barry's when he was on the council (except in Wards 2 and 3) and Jerry Moore ran into a tad of trouble in Ward 3 where independent Joel Garner got 6000 votes. But it didn't bother him. In fact, if Garner, Charlie Cassell and Charlotte Holmes

had somehow joined forces they still couldn't have beaten Moore.

Turnout

| WARD REG & TURNOUT | 137/137 |
|------------------------|------------|
| WARD 1 ACCUM REGIS | 34054 |
| WARD 1 TOTAL PCT. VOTE | 18165 53.3 |
| WARD 2 ACCUM REGIS. | 35364 |
| WARD 2 TOTAL PCT. VOTE | 18557 52.4 |
| WARD 3 ACCUM REGIS. | 50715 |
| WARD 3 TOTAL PCT. VOTE | 33289 65.6 |
| WARD 4 ACCUM REGIS. | 41002 |
| WARD 4 TOTAL PCT. VOTE | 26866 65.5 |
| WARD 5 ACCUM REGIS. | 36722 |
| WARD 5 TOTAL PCT. VOTE | 22323 60.7 |
| WARD 6 ACCUM REGIS. | 32779 |
| WARD 6 TOTAL PCT. VOTE | 18570 56.6 |
| WARD 7 ACCUM REGIS. | 35149 |
| WARD 7 TOTAL PCT. VOTE | 20476 58.2 |
| WARD 8 ACCUM REGIS. | 23052 |
| WARD 8 TOTAL PCT. VOTE | 10405 45.1 |

Citywide Results

| U.S. PRESIDENT | 137/137 |
|--------------------|-------------|
| DEBERRY-ZIMMERMANN | 173 .0 |
| REAGAN-BUSH | 23313 13.4 |
| HALL-DAVIS | 369 .2 |
| GRISWOLD-HOLMES | 52 .0 |
| CLARK-KOCH | 1104 .6 |
| COMMONER-HARRIS | 1826 1.0 |
| ANDERSON-LUCEY | 16131 9.2 |
| CARTER-MONDALE | 130231 74.8 |
| WRITE-IN | 690 .3 |

| DELEGATE TO HOUSE | 137/137 |
|--------------------|-------------|
| ROBERT J ROEHR | 21021 14.0 |
| JOSEPHINE D BUTLER | 14325 9.5 |
| WALTER E FAUNTROY | 111631 74.4 |
| WRITE-IN | 2979 1.9 |

| AT-LARGE MEMBER | 137/137 |
|--------------------|-------------|
| JERRY A MOORE | 51452 24.1 |
| CHARLOTTE R HOLMES | 15269 7.1 |
| CHARLES I CASSELL | 15362 7.1 |
| JOHN RAY | 106288 49.7 |
| MAURICE JACKSON | 8231 3.8 |
| GLENN B WHITE | 3054 1.4 |
| JOEL H GARNER | 12653 5.9 |
| WRITE-IN | 877 .4 |
| WRITE-IN | 252 .1 |

| WARD-2 MEMBER | 16/ 16 |
|---------------|------------|
| ANN MARSHALL | 3501 21.3 |
| JOHN A WILSON | 12804 78.0 |
| WRITE-IN | 102 .6 |

| WARD-4 MEMBER | 19/ 19 |
|----------------------|------------|
| CHARLENE DREW JARVIS | 20473 93.5 |
| ISRAEL LOPEZ | 1331 6.0 |
| WRITE-IN | 90 .4 |

| WARD-7 MEMBER | 21/ 21 |
|-----------------|------------|
| MARYLAND D KEMP | 960 5.3 |
| DURAND A FORD | 650 3.6 |
| H R CRAWFORD | 15156 84.5 |
| JOHN WEST | 1048 5.8 |
| WRITE-IN | 117 .6 |

| WARD-8 MEMBER | 12/ 12 |
|---------------------|-----------|
| LEON F PARKS | 278 2.8 |
| WILHELMINA J RCLARK | 8985 92.5 |
| LEONA REDMOND | 173 1.7 |
| KELLIS SYLVESTER | 244 2.5 |
| WRITE-IN | 24 .2 |

| STATEHOOD INITIATIVE | 137/137 |
|----------------------|------------|
| YES | 90533 59.7 |
| NO | 60972 40.2 |

| GAMBLING INITIATIVE | 137/137 |
|---------------------|-------------|
| YES | 104899 63.6 |
| NO | 59833 36.3 |

ATTENTION! DC ORGANIZATIONS

The Gazette is reviving its guide to local citywide and neighborhood organizations. If you would like your organization listed, please send us as soon as possible the name, address, telephone number and type of work you do.

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WARD RESULTS

PRESIDENT

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| CARTER | 13313 | 11958 | 14025 | 23203 | 19742 | 14334 | 18326 | 9475 |
| | 73% | 64% | 42% | 86% | 88% | 77% | 89% | 91% |
| REAGAN | 1752 | 3051 | 11733 | 1574 | 980 | 1460 | 898 | 317 |
| | 10% | 16% | 35% | 6% | 4 | 8% | 4% | 3% |
| ANDERSON | 1849 | 2623 | 6079 | 1039 | 697 | 1874 | 555 | 255 |
| | 10% | 14% | 18% | 4 | 3% | 10% | 3% | 2% |
| COMMONER | 460 | 279 | 532 | 118 | 73 | 202 | 18 | 4 |
| CLARK | 137 | 202 | 341 | 75 | 76 | 121 | 55 | 30 |
| HALL | 96 | 39 | 35 | 50 | 38 | 37 | 42 | 17 |
| DEBERRY | 29 | 17 | 33 | 14 | 18 | 21 | 15 | 10 |
| GRISWOLD | 16 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 3 |

DELEGATE

| | WARD 1 | WARD 2 | WARD 3 | WARD 4 | WARD 5 | WARD 6 | WARD 7 | WARD 8 |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| FAUNTROY | 10873 | 10275 | 132333 | 19811 | 16839 | 12141 | 15400 | 8139 |
| BUTLER | 2253 | 2009 | 3033 | 1614 | 1239 | 1653 | 1021 | 562 |
| ROEHR | 1808 | 3267 | 9900 | 1178 | 745 | 1796 | 662 | 204 |
| WRITE-INS | 214 | 283 | 1389 | 286 | 179 | 257 | 177 | 57 |

COUNCIL

| | WARD 1 | WARD 2 | WARD 3 | WARD 4 | WARD 5 | WARD 6 | WARD 7 | WARD 8 |
|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| RAY | 10447 | 9896 | 14755 | 17947 | 15275 | 11710 | 14238 | 7382 |
| MOORE | 4591 | 5410 | 14178 | 8140 | 5921 | 4346 | 4633 | 1762 |
| CASELL | 2128 | 1745 | 2073 | 2599 | 1997 | 1598 | 1438 | 880 |
| GARNER | 1082 | 1872 | 6267 | 663 | 488 | 1122 | 363 | 180 |
| HOLMES | 1571 | 2211 | 3740 | 1780 | 1322 | 1764 | 1167 | 692 |
| JACKSON | 1646 | 1028 | 927 | 1234 | 821 | 894 | 763 | 460 |

INITIATIVES

| | WARD 1 | WARD 2 | WARD 3 | WARD 4 | WARD 5 | WARD 6 | WARD 7 | WARD 8 |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| STATEHOOD YES | 10118 | 9653 | 11626 | 14816 | 117444 | 10084 | 11038 | 6408 |
| STATEHOOD NO | 5056 | 6740 | 19440 | 7502 | 5981 | 5548 | 5109 | 2204 |
| GAMBLING YES | 10711 | 11409 | 17935 | 15967 | 128656 | 11224 | 12392 | 6813 |
| GAMBLING NO | 5043 | 6006 | 13814 | 8653 | 7564 | 5922 | 6218 | 28666 |

TWENTY YEARS OF ELECTIONS

INITIATIVES

1960 PRIMARIES

DEMOCRATS: Home Rule: Yes, 18080 No 1005

REPUBLICANS:

Vote for President: Yes, 10606 No 281
 Delegate in Congress: Yes, 9808 No 1081
 Local Elected Assembly: Yes 8014 No 2646

1964 PRIMARIES

DEMOCRATS: Home Rule: Yes 64580 No 4368

REPUBLICANS:

Home Rule: Yes, 8094 No 4368
 Payroll Tax: Yes 4333 No 1125

1968 PRIMARIES

DEMOCRATS:

Home Rule: Yes 96804 No 3238
 Voting Representation: Yes 97935 No 1461
 Referendum: Yes 93524 No 4986

REPUBLICANS:

Voting Representation: Yes 11981 No 2868

1980 ELECTION

Statehood Initiative: Yes 90533 No 60972
 DC Lottery: Yes 104899 No 59833

PRESIDENTIAL VOTES

1960 PRIMARIES

DEMOCRATS:

Presidential Preference: Humphrey 8239
 Morse 6127

1964 ELECTION

Johnson 86.8% Goldwater 13.2%

1968 PRIMARIES

DEMOCRATS: Kennedy Slate: 63% Humphrey Slate: 35%

1968 ELECTION

Humphrey 82% Nixon 18%

1972 ELECTION

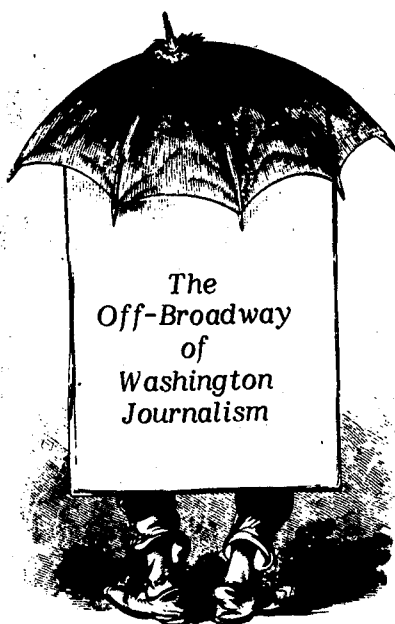
McGovern 78% Nixon 21%

1976 ELECTION

Carter 81% Ford 17%

1980 ELECTION

Carter 75% Reagan 13% Anderson 9%

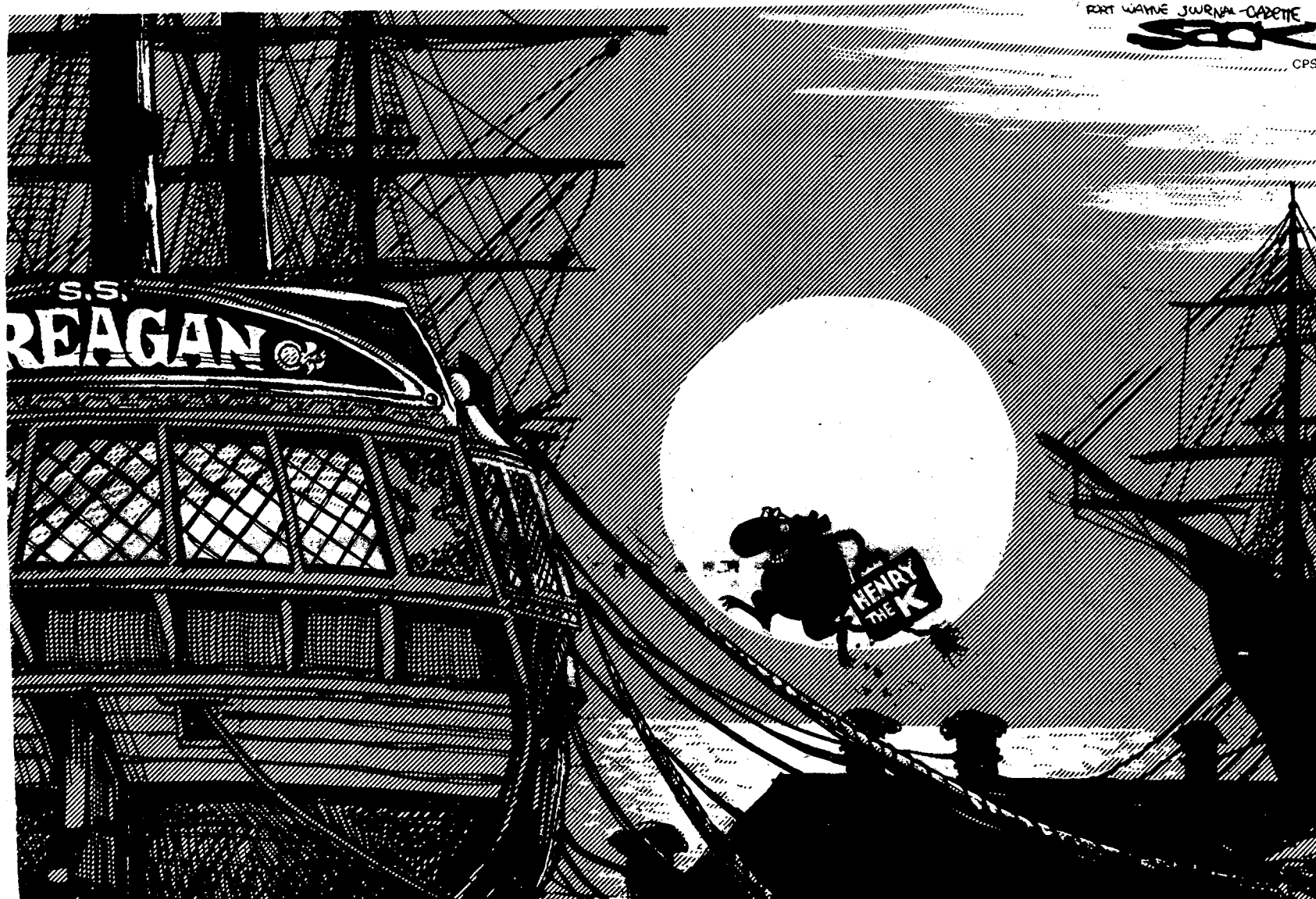


Weather

Report

Nr. 5

December 1980



Maybe Reagan did the Democrats a favor

S A M S M I T H

If the rest of the nation and the world can survive in the meanwhile, Ronald Reagan may end up doing the Democratic Party a favor. About the only bright spot in the recent turn of events is that the Democratic Party was beaten in such a humiliating way that it might be inspired to expend a modicum of effort figuring out why it exists at all.

If the party is badly shaken it is not, at present, because of any threat to its politics — what were they by the way? — but to the utter predictability of its lifestyle.

For the first time in years, the Democratic Party and its legal, lobbying and labor auxiliaries are going to have to think about what they are going to do next. For a coalition that has managed to thrive despite incurable philosophical dyslexia, the prospect is shattering. The Democratic Party ruled for the same reason people are supposed to climb Mt. Everest — it was there. But the motivation was only secure as long as no one asked, "So what?"

The media has suggested that the election represented a mortal wound to American liberalism, an interpretation about as reliable as the pre-election polls. Actually, American liberalism quietly committed suicide some years back. The exact time of death is uncertain, but I suspect it was somewhere around the period when Lyndon Johnson took his oversized boots one step too far into the swamp of Vietnam. Creatures identified as liberals continued to exist but they were basically liberal fundamentalists whose relationship with liberalism as a system of works was analagous, say, to Jerry Falwell's relationship to Christian behavior. They still carried the cross but they had forgotten what to do with it.

What actually occurred this fall was an intra-factional struggle between three elements of the American right; the American voters made a choice between a Republican and two quasi-Republicans. That they chose the true Republican at least shows an abiding taste for consistency. To suggest, however, that the election represented a repudiation of liberal ideas is ludicrous;

there were no liberal ideas to reject. At best there was a referendum on the relevance of liberal nostalgia and one did not have to be a maniacal reactionary to conclude that whatever people like Kennedy and McGovern were saying, it simply didn't matter that much.

The liberal fundamentalists lost because they didn't have anything to add to the debate and the much maligned average voter apparently recognized it.

As for the Democratic Party as a whole, its fate was sealed when it engaged in the massively masochistic act of renominating Jimmy Carter. The Democratic convention reminded one of nothing so much as the 1964 GOP convention in which Barry Goldwater won a stunning victory over Republican self-interest. I didn't expect the Democrats to nominate Teddy Kennedy, but I still believed that Democrats, when they were wrong, were so for pragmatic reasons, that they understood that loyalty works both ways, that they would not cave in to a man who had betrayed them, that somewhere behind that huge podium someone was saying something that made sense if we just stayed up long enough. But the party-saving compromise candidate never emerged. All the years of "reform" had apparently produced nothing more than conventions that voluntarily gave up their independence rather than being made to do so.

THE DEMOCRATS THREW IT. . . .

I shouldn't have been surprised. The party was in the hands of men like Robert Strauss and John White, who made Richard Daley and Sam Rayburn look like Patrick Henry and Thomas Paine. Besides, as an old New Dealer put it the other day, "I get the impression that the Democratic Party had become a sort of loose confederation of successful law firms." Except for the fact that its opponent was Ronald Reagan, the party could offer no sound justification why it should be returned to power. Ronald Reagan didn't win this election; the Democrats threw it.

So I confess to a certain grim glee over the fall of the Court of St. Jimmy. As long as we are only allowed two parties in this country and until the Republicans are as willing to stand up for humanity as they are for Amurica, there are a lot of us who have to be somewhat Democratic whether we want to or not. Not for more than a decade have I felt any emotional, rather than merely pragmatic, reason for the association. But with the combined defeat of the effete (in the true sense) liberal fundy and the federal trough-slopping wings of the Democratic Party, there may be a chance for some new voices to be heard for a change — providing they get there before Paul Tsongas and Patty Moynihan tie up the party in a Ben Wattenberg-Richard Scammon approved package of political cynicism.

The real danger of the next four years stems not just from the Republicans being in power and moving to the right, but from the Democrats following suit. The remaining Democrats in Congress are, on balance, far more conservative and the residual Democratic establishment in Washington — including the lawyer-lobbyists and the op-ed oligarchy, represent the most reactionary aspects of Democratic thought. Reapportionment following the 1980 census will further aggravate the situation, revealing to a startling degree

the demographic decimation of progressively-inclined voting districts. Given that this country has not one left-of-center major newspaper and virtually no left-of-center syndicated columnists, one can expect the press to unite stalwartly behind the worst and most right-wing solutions to the Democratic dilemma.

Still, the rest of us have one thing going. The Democrats got the pants beat off of them. If there ever was a time for the alienated, aggravated and aggrieved to show interest in Democratic politics now is it. As Ronald Reagan and the new right have amply demonstrated, the time to become a good party member is when the party's down.

The only way to deal with the new right — and it's alive in both parties, is to have some new Democrats as well. These new Democrats can't be rehashed liberals — the word ought to be banished from the Democratic vocabulary for at least two presidential terms. They can't be socialists; the Democrats have thoroughly discredited socialism by introducing over the past few decades every one of its worst aspects while providing few of its benefits. They can be radical, in the sense of returning to the roots, but those roots are not in European socialism nor are they as convenient chronologically as the New Deal. They are to be found further back and on this side of the Atlantic — in a judicious blend of Jeffersonianism, populism, progressivism, libertarianism and what Norman Mailer calls "radical conservatism."

Liberalism and socialism suffer from many of the same defects. They both tend to favor order at the expense of freedom. They both tend towards centralism, while the historical roots of American thought are decentralist and anti-authoritarian. And in their effort to produce economic salvation, they both tend to create psychological deprivation. The American dream is not to make the right choice between economic and personal justice, it's not to choose between independence and equality but to have it all. Both the right and the left in this country tend to promote only a part of the dream; a new Democratic politics, I would submit, should try to put the parts together again. Here, for starters, are some random notes on how it might be done:

• A new Democratic politics requires the reestablishment of a base among the people rather than, as has been increasingly the case, among those who "represent them." If the party has to make a choice it should go for the union members rather than for the unions. It worked for Reagan and it would work for the Democrats. The Democratic Party has failed to understand the depth of institutional alienation in this country. Although the Republicans are as institutionally bound as the Democrats, they have been far more effective in feigning interest in the American as an individual. The Democratic rhetoric is constantly shoving institutions on top of people — HUD, the UAW, the city machines — and people are mad at all of them.

THE MYTH OF FEDERAL SUPERIORITY. . . .

• A new Democratic politics requires affirmative action in government decentralization. The Republicans have gotten away with simply calling for less government because the Democrats have promoted the absurd premise that only the central government can solve our problems. In fact, much of the Republican effort is not aimed at doing away with government but with doing away with programs, but because the Democrats have resisted decentralizing these programs this distinction has been obscured.

The Democrats should forget that Richard Nixon started revenue sharing and make bigger and better revenue sharing a major part of its program. The Republicans have played a symbolic game with revenue sharing; let the Democrats make it real. If the Republicans want to decentralize a federal function to the governor's level, the Democrats should demand it be placed at the neighborhood or township level.

That there are risks in decentralization is obvious. That there are important federal functions that must remain centralized — such as the guarantee of constitutional rights — is also obvious. But because Washington must protect the rights of minorities does not mean that Washington must also decide when, how and with what surface material a village in Nebraska shall build its federally-funded playground.

Part of the peculiar mythology of the Democratic

WEATHER REPORT

The Weather Report is published monthly (except during the summer) by the DC Gazette. Single copies: \$1.00 Annual subscription: \$5. The Weather Report uses the services of Pacific News Service, College Press Service, Zodiac News Service and Community Press Features and the National News Bureau.

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Party is that decentralization is un-Democratic. This, no doubt, stems from the abuse of states' rights as a tool for discrimination. But at some point one has to distinguish between inherent evil and wrongful application; the Democrats have failed to do so.

If you go back to the earliest days of the republic, you find a different story about states rights. Within a relatively few years of the revolution the United States had ended most property standards for suffrage, eliminated the legal status of women as chattel, ended slavery outside the south, and rejected primogeniture, all as the result of state rather than federal action. Even in today's conflicts, the effect of decentralized power is not as dangerous as we sometimes think. True, the Burger court has decentralized the definition of pornography -- but would you really prefer that every community have to accept the Burger court's own definition? Where would homosexuals be if their only legal recourse was a federal human rights law? Would they prefer that San Francisco and Washington be governed by Congress's current inclinations on the subject? Would women prefer to rely solely on passage of the ERA? Even in human rights, the federal government is not inherently superior to the sum of its parts.

TIME TO END AN AFFAIR....

• A new Democratic politics requires that the party get out of bed with banks, multinational corporations, monopolies, oligarchies, conglomerates, Washington legal hitmen and economic hustlers of all stripes. The Republican Party may be married to big business but the Democratic Party is its mistress. It has never confessed this to its constituents but they figured it out anyway. It has to stop fooling around if there is to be any hope of revival. It can not go on talking economic justice on the one hand while, on the other, trying to beat the Republicans to the deal. Both parties hardly mentioned multinationals during the campaign. When Richard Allen, Reagan's foreign policy advisor, got into trouble it was because of alleged improprieties rather than for the astounding fact that the man guiding Reagan on foreign policy matters was representing Datsun even as Reagan was successfully asking workers in Detroit for their votes. The failure of the Democrats to even tweak Reagan on this was culpable nonfeasance of the first water.

• A new Democratic politics requires that the party declare war on high interest rates. Here again a conspiracy of silence has prevailed among the two parties. Aside from a few lip service complaints, the obvious inflationary role of interest rates has been studiously ignored by the Democrats. On this issue, the Democrats should become born-again Christians; the Bible is far more clear on the question of usury than it is, say, on gun control, abortion or defense budgets. It is absurd that no major Democrat has made the incredible manipulation of interest rates a prime issue.

• A new Democratic politics requires that the party make clear the difference between free enterprise and an economic orgy. Until politicians make the distinction the American voters won't.

Voters need to know what has happened to their classic economic model. They need to know that the corporations that now claim rights equal to that of an individual once had to convince the state government that their purposes were in the public interest and necessity before even receiving a charter. They need to understand the hypocrisy involved in megacorporations assuming the mantle of a primitive and virtually extinct form of capitalism. They should be told about the significantly greater job-producing capacity of small rather than large business. They should be taught the diseconomies of scale -- including the cost of bailing out such economic dinosaurs as Chrysler and Lockheed. They should learn about the inflationary potential of monopolized business, the job-destroying potential of high tech multi-national industry and the environmental indifference -- all factors with which Adam Smith didn't contend.

The Democratic Party, which has been grievously silent about such matters, should take the position that it wants to free enterprise rather than subsidize monopolies.

The Democratic Party's new politics also requires alternatives to the growing monopolization of the economy. One such alternative would be an emphasis on the cooperatives as options to traditional economic units. Cooperatives are an attractive alternative to

capitalistic failure since they can accomplish many of socialism's goals without its liabilities. Further, they have a healthy red-blooded American provenance that makes them more politically tasteful. Interestingly, there has been some movement in this direction, such as the new national cooperative bank, but the Democrats have been awful quiet about it.

Along with cooperativism, we need to put an end to the acceptance of what Paul Soglin calls "lemon socialism" -- the idea that it is all right for the government to get into private business as long as there's no money to



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be made out of it. Once you accept the idea of public enterprise -- the opportunities for economic change mount geometrically.

We already have some successful examples of public enterprise in this country, such as the few communities that own their own utilities, but the idea is in its infancy. Acceptance of a decentralized public enterprise ethos would permit, for example, a city government to buy and then lease redevelopment land rather than merely collect the taxes on it. It would encourage the formation of state and local banks to fund housing programs out of profits made from middle and upper income mortgages. It would allow government to get something in return for its subsidies. It would give local governments a piece of the equity in housing programs they fund. It would give the government stock shares in businesses it subsidized or bailed out. We would never have to reach an ultimate confrontation between monopoly capitalism and monopoly socialism; rather we would develop a case by case economy. The only thing stopping us from moving in this direction and enjoying its obvious benefits is our fear of violating an economic theory that no longer has any practical meaning.

- A new Democratic politics would stress ways to reduce confrontation in the society. It would reject the adversary society created by such institutions such as legal profession and would develop means for people to resolve disputes rather than win or lose them.

- A new Democratic politics would decentralize justice. Like everything else in our society, prosecution and adjudication has been removed from our communities. It must be returned.

America, among western countries, is one of the most punitive and least effective in dealing with crime. The Republican theory of more of the same should be rejected. The Democratic Party should stress the fact that crimes are committed against a community and that the community must be the focus of law enforcement. Failure to recognize the key role of communities in crime prevention and the subsidiary nature of professional law enforcement is a major reason for our failure to deal effectively with the problem. We need to greatly strengthen fledgling neighborhood justice systems -- with the emphasis on prevention rather than punishment and on restitution rather than retribution -- and we need to stop playing catch-up in the Republican game of the more cops the better.

- A new Democratic politics must continue to stress proper care and feeding of the environment, with the greatest emphasis on the avoidance of irreparable damage. Whether immediately popular or not, the party must take a stand against playing Russian roulette with eternity.

- A new Democratic politics requires a foreign policy that finally recognizes the independence of the rest of the nations of the world. Our intrusive, arrogant meddling in extra-territorial politics has brought us little but grief. It is morally indefensible, politically unproductive and economically risky. Only the fact that the Russians have been even more heavy-handed has saved us from complete disaster.

- A new Democratic politics requires a military policy that is based on the needs of the military rather than of the military-industrial complex. One of the best-kept secrets of American politics is that the huge sums taxpayers are providing for the "defense budget" has surprisingly little to do with defense. It is a make-work program for defense contractors. You don't even have to raise the moral issue: from a military point of view it doesn't make sense. The essence of any military force is the professionalism and skill of its personnel. There are strong indications that this has seriously declined despite the ever-growing number of toys the military has to play with. The Democrats could get a lot more mileage for a lot less cost out of the defense issue, by emphasizing real preparedness and skill rather than the traditional predilection for bigger and better weaponry.

- A new Democratic politics should make the Democratic Party the party of neighborhoods, the party of communities. Local Democrats should be at the front of every battle for neighborhood government, for more participation by citizens in local decisions, against the rape of communities by developers and speculators and city governments. Because Democrats control so many city halls, there has been a tendency for local Democratic parties to lay low on such issues. Over the long run, however, the people will turn on the Democratic city machines just as they have turned on the Democratic federal machine. One way to prevent this is for local Democrats to start representing the interest of the people rather than those of their mayors.

- Though the Democratic Party has long held itself out as the party of "full employment" it has not, in recent years, been particularly effective in this role. CETA, for example, has been a shambles. Misbegotten jobs programs betray the perfectly worthy role of public job creation. A new Democratic policy requires that Democrats be at least as concerned with the quality of jobs programs as any of their GOP critics.

There is plenty of work than needs to be done. The physical infrastructure of our old cities needs to be rebuilt, our railroad system is in a sorry state, the effects of decades of environmental unconcern need to be ameliorated, neighborhoods need help overcoming years of neglect. There is no justification for wasting public jobs.

Further, many of the policies I've outlined are actually job production programs as well. A shift from wasteful military spending towards economically regenerative domestic programs would create jobs. A shift away from political priority to megacorporations towards smaller businesses would produce jobs. A cap on interest rates would greatly help the housing industry -- and produce jobs.

It is important that the government recognize the effect of its policies on employment. Federal urban redevelopment, for example, has tended to hurt less skilled employment. One person's progress may be another's layoff.

Within its own structure, the government has tacitly accepted an anti-jobs policy. Both federal and local governments have allowed grade creep and reorganizations to destroy much of government's traditional capacity as a job provider. One \$60,000-a-year federal bureaucrat is taking the job of three \$20,000-a-year lower-level civil servants. Government, in part, has become a jobs program for the college educated. This tendency must be reversed.

- Finally, a new Democratic politics should rethink issues of human rights. The party can not retreat from a commitment to these rights, but it should stop raising strategies to the status of rights. Bussing, for example, was a strategy, not a right. It was effective neither educationally nor politically. In fact, because blacks and liberal Democrats refused to look pragmatically at the results of bussing, only the new right really benefitted from it.

On other issues, we need, as the general told his troops, to "elevate the guns a little lower." Abortion is

one of these issues. It involves ultimately irresolvable conflicts in values; both sides have morally sound positions. You can not handle this sort of issue as you would the ERA or segregation. High visibility advocacy politics risks the sort of backlash that we are currently observing. What's needed here is more subtle and sensitive politics.

In the field of civil rights, the trend of recent years has been to link these issues with the same sort of regulatory, punitive approach of government that people are rebelling against in every area. Blacks tend to see resistance to bussing and affirmative action as being racist, but if they would just ask their local OSHA inspector what sort of reception he's getting, they would see the problem is not theirs alone.

To cling to government regulations as the prime strategy for racial justice seems politically naive at best. Even if the laws stay on the books, enforcement will almost certainly wither over the next few years.

In fact, no matter what minorities do, the outlook is pretty gloomy. But a few changes in approach might help. One would be to find ways the government could be used as a carrot rather than always as a stick. Another would be for minorities and women to reexamine their reluctance to form meaningful coalitions with other groups. The activist individualism of the seventies didn't work so well in its prime; in the next few years it will be futile.

There should also be more attention paid to some sources of the problem that have been largely ignored. One of these is the demographic gerrymandering of institutions such as the US Congress. Ineffective as it may be over the short run, we should at least begin raising the issue of how we can have legislative bodies that somewhat represent the composition of the country. We need not only the right to vote but the right to have someone to vote for.

It might also help if there were a rhetorical shift. One of the components of the so-called "backlash" is a feeling on the part of many Americans not of a minority that they, like Roger Dangerfield, "don't get no respect." Because of the real problems and insecurities of minorities and women, these groups have tended to underrate the problems and insecurities of those with whom they find political conflict.

But while losing many of the real battles, minorities and women have tended to have the upper hand in the rhetorical war. The ground rules, decided in no small part by the media, have been that it is all right for blacks to make hyperbolic statements about whites but not vice versa. Women can stereotype men but men can't stereotype women. It is acceptable to lampoon a born-again Christian but not a Zionist. And I suspect that when the Voting Rights Act issue arises, we will find northern Democrats making sweeping statements about the South that many southerners will find highly insulting.

The political effects of this dynamic have not been adequately examined, but I think there is ample evidence that they are there. A new Democratic policy on human rights needs a considerable emphasis on human respect -- even for those one finds politically objectionable. We need to question the assumption that one's political, religious or social views define one's worth as an individual. And the burden for this falls most heavily on those who feel strongly the need to end invidious discrimination.

Okay, that's enough to get started on. If you don't like it make your own damn list. I don't care. But remember: you were led into this ambush by the crummiest bunch of Democratic leaders of modern times. They lost the election and now you can lose them. Just go out and start acting like Democrats again.

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Storefront Justice

R. V. Denenberg

(LOS ANGELES) A pickup truck with a camper mounted on the back pulls up to a curtained storefront on Venice Boulevard. The driver and passenger, a couple in their twenties, enter an office furnished with three desks and a faded brown corduroy couch. A staff member welcomes them to the Neighborhood Justice Center, ushers them into a closet-like side room and introduces them to "your mediator, Sharon Shapiro."

They take seats around a small table, and the door closes. An hour and a half later the door opens, and out walks the mediator clutching a child support and visitation agreement signed by the couple and herself. It will take effect upon the couple's imminent divorce.

The husband and wife have just reaped the benefits of a grassroots movement toward lawyer-less, no-frills conflict resolution. It is called community dispute settlement, or, as befits the Venice Boulevard operation, "storefront justice." Propelled by the hefty price and meager satisfactions of conventional justice, the movement has been burgeoning. About 100 programs similar to the neighborhood center have sprung up within the last dozen years throughout the country, nurtured by foundations and local or Federal government grants. The U.S. Justice Department, which funds the Los Angeles center as a pilot project, sponsors two others, in Kansas City and Atlanta. San Francisco has its foundation-backed Community Board Program, Miami its Citizen Dispute Center, and Boston its Urban Court.

Dispute settlement's proponents offer it as an alluring alternative to a judicial system that has become remote from the everyday lives of most people, particularly those with modest incomes. Courts, they argue, are inaccessible, because their procedures are chillingly formal, their delays seemingly endless and their costs—most litigants feel vulnerable without a lawyer—prohibitive.

For all their elaborateness and expense, say the proponents of dispute settlement, courts are ineffectual. Explains Raymond Shonholtz, founder and director of the San Francisco program, the court is seen as delivering "neither restitution nor punishment. Therefore, few people willingly participate in it, and most strive to avoid it.... It forces individuals and communities to tolerate disputes until they fester to the point of urgency."

Moreover, the proponents contend, disputes are inherently unsuited to a winner-take-all judicial confrontation when the parties have a long-term relationship that may continue after they leave the courtroom. Mitchell Sviridoff, a vice president of the Ford Foundation, which has invested heavily in dispute settlement programs, laments that "we are increasingly bringing to an adversarial bench disputants who are not in fact adversaries, or at least who are not only adversaries, but who are spouses, friends, lovers, relatives, neighbors." In a child custody case, observes Maurice Rosenberg, head of the U.S. Attorney General's Office for Improvements in the Administration of Justice, "the interests of the spouse, the child, and society generally calls for something other than that a total victory for one side and total defeat for the other be proclaimed."

In contrast to the courts, dispute settlement offers a forum that is typically free, informal and expeditious. The neighborhood centers welcome the conflicts that courts find too trivial or too elusive: domestic quarrels, squabbles with neighbors, disagreements between customers and merchants, misunderstandings between landlords and tenants, simmering animosities among ethnic groups. The object is neither to judge guilt or innocence, nor to affix blame. The goal,

rather, is to find a compromise solution that, in the jargon of the craft, "both sides can live with." The principal technique, borrowed from labor-management relations, is mediation—an attempt by a neutral third party to effect a mutually acceptable, voluntary outcome. At times, the neutral may step up to the more potent role of arbitrator; both sides agree in advance to let him decide the outcome. To make the disputants feel more comfortable, the neutral is normally a volunteer drawn from the neighborhood.

The centers pride themselves on eliciting settlements that are more effective and enduring than court decrees by eliminating the tensions which underlie the surface conflict and which may flare up again if left unresolved. Few courts are equipped to offer such diagnostic and preventive services.

Transcending the immediate practical benefits is a visionary ideal: returning the process of resolving conflict to the community at large after a long period in which that function has been usurped by a professional caste of lawyers and judges in an impersonal institution called a court. It is a kind of judicial populism. In this instance, power to the people means the power to handle their disputes in their own way. Says Robert Pryce, associate director of the Los Angeles center, "Our caseload may be low, the time we spend mediating may be longer than any court spends on a case, but the humanistic, voluntary tendencies we promote is what makes us worthwhile."

Both the theory and the practice of dispute settlement have been evolving since the urban unrest of the late 1960s. One of the first storefront justice programs began diverting minor criminal cases from the courts in 1969, putting them before arbitrators. At the same time, legal scholars began proposing the creation of "community courts" or "community moots," with varying degrees of coercive power.

A turning point was the 1976 Conference on the Causes of Popular Dissatisfaction with the Administration of Justice, sponsored by the American Bar Association. A follow-up report called for "new mechanisms for the delivery of justice," including Neighborhood Justice Centers. The task force that issued the report was headed by a Federal judge from Georgia named Griffin Bell. The next year, as Attorney General Bell, he took steps to put his own recommendation into practice experimentally.

When the Los Angeles center opened in March, 1978, it found that storefront justice did not necessarily draw a brisk walk-in trade. So it did what any other enterprise would do to stimulate business: it advertised aggressively. There were public service ads on radio, television spots, and posters on buses ("Call 390-7666. A Free Community Mediation Service"). In one sense, the center's "outreach" campaign worked too well; people telephoned to grumble generally about their spouses, landlords and neighbors—complaints that did not amount to specific disputes. Some callers were under the impression that it was a free legal aid center. They wanted to sue someone.

Eventually, the cases came. A recent Federal evaluation counted 751 disputes during a 15-month period, about a third of them resolved. The Atlanta and Kansas City centers drew considerably more and resolved a higher percentage. But unlike

R.V. Denenberg is investigating alternatives to traditional courts while on a fellowship with the Alicia Patterson Foundation. This article reprinted from the *APF Reporter*. (c)1980 RV Denenberg.

Los Angeles, they routinely accepted cases referred by courts, prosecutors and the police. "There is no doubt that we took a hard road," Pryce says. "But programs that use direct referrals from the courts have taken the choice away from the parties."

In the eyes of the Neighborhood Justice Center, it takes two persons to make a dispute: the "initiator" and "the respondent." Says Pryce, "The respondent is the one that we must persuade. We do everything short of using force or threats. We tell them the benefits. We tell them they have problem that might end up in court. Nothing happens unless you persuade the respondent to come in."

When it does get both parties around the table, "they are fuming and angry and full of disgust at each other," says Pryce. "Then there is this magic that takes place—one person begins to hear what the other is saying and that he has some legitimate interests that are being infringed. They see possible areas of compromise. And at the end, they feel good about it. We want people to have good feelings about the process of resolving disputes. Otherwise, it's no different than a court, where you are compelled to accept a solution."

Sharon Shapiro, one of the center's 18 part-time mediators, describes her approach as "trying to get both sides to feel they are getting something out of the mediation session. If both are satisfied they've received something, then I'm satisfied. And I've got a good batting average." In the child support case she had just handled, "both were willing to compromise without name calling. Sometimes there's a lot of yelling and screaming."

Mediators require not only sensitivity but stamina. The child support case was relatively short, but she has sat patiently through four-hour sessions. Seven hours is the center's record. Such marathon mediations are sometimes necessary to bring the real conflict to the surface. "Courts are just about money," Ms. Shapiro says. "Here there are a lot of personal things going on."

In one dispute she mediated, a boat owner ordered an engine repairman off his craft and refused to pay the \$1,100 balance of the bill because the job was taking too long. The dispute was bitter, even though—or because—the two were old acquaintances. It took much of the three-hour session just to get the boat owner to face the repairman and talk to him directly. Even then, a stalemate ensued. The mediator caucused separately with each man, producing an offer of settlement by the boat owner. It was refused by the repairman. At the end of the session, the best that could be accomplished was to have both disputants sign an agreement to meet again for face to face negotiations. Although the dispute was not over, a breakthrough had been made.

Ms. Shapiro is paid \$6 an hour while mediating, but the real rewards are intangible: "I like to feel I'm helping people." The mediator walks a fine line, making suggestions about possible compromises but never telling the disputants what they should do. It is their agreement, and she avoids imposing her values. But she does try to see "that it's as complete as possible," that all points of possible contention have been removed and that the terms are clear. Even the handwriting must be checked; an illegible agreement might lead to misunderstanding later on.

Follow-up studies determine how well the agreement is working. If it seems to be disintegrating, "re-mediation" may be suggested. The center also provides an extra service: referrals to a network of helping agencies. "We get people in here," says Pryce, "who have not one problem but three or four. We handle one, and we get them to places where they can get help for the others." Battered wives may be sent to

shelters, the emotionally-disturbed to mental health centers, drinkers to Alcoholics Anonymous. If someone has a genuine legal difficulty, the center will even suggest a lawyer.

The Los Angeles center's methods are by no means standard. There are a plethora of approaches, as is evident in the contrast between the center and another California program, the San Francisco Community Board, founded in 1977. The conflict resolving sessions of the Board are public rather than private, and the neutral presence is not a single mediator but a three-person panel. The hearing is a cross between a mediation and a town meeting at which communal solidarity is reaffirmed.

Paul Rupert, the program manager, calls the method "conciliation," because it emphasizes face-to-face dialogue between the disputants with few caucuses. "I'm always fascinated," he says, "by someone who complains for years about the neighbor's Labrador retriever but, when asked what's the neighbor's name, says, 'I don't know.' He's never tried to talk to him." In criminal matters, says Rupert, "if you bring together the perpetrator and the victim face to face, something will happen. You will get the perpetrator to take responsibility. It's non-coercive self-criticism."

The board's technique reflects its primary goal: neighborhood stabilization and cohesion. Purely domestic disputes, Rupert acknowledges, are few, probably because of the openness of the forum. The atmosphere is more conducive to airing matters of common significance—particularly juvenile crime, vandalism, and what Rupert calls "lifestyle-value clashes."

The neighborhoods of south-eastern San Francisco offer fine laboratories for testing the technique. Set among the urban "valleys" of the city's corrugated topography, they have a relatively well-defined physical identity. A ridge of hills, for example, cloisters Visitacion Valley, one of the four neighborhoods the Board serves. Each is a microcosm of the city's kaleidoscopic ethnic and economic makeup: a white plurality and smaller groups of blacks, latinos and Chinese. The program newspaper has even carried announcements in Tagalog, a Philippine language.

In recent years, some sections have acquired a gay middle-class. Among the lifestyle clashes that the Board attended to were name calling incidents, involving gay homeowners and latino youths. In another exercise in inter-group relations, an Asian grocer filed a complaint against a black 12-year-old who had robbed his store; the grocer was unwilling to take the matter to the police, partly because he wished to avoid alienating blacks who were his customers.

In some instances, the panelists, who serve six-month terms, help the denouement by playing a personal role. An eviction dispute was resolved through the ef-

forts of panelists to find the tenant a new place to live.

Although the panels ostensibly are not out to find fault, the upshot of a session involving incidents such as theft may be a penalty. Restitution or a specific number of hours of community service may be required. And the panelists' own notion of what is a just outcome influences the ultimate agreement. One dispute, for example, involved a homeowner and a teenage girl who was part of a group that had attempted to burglarize his house. A member of the panel told a reporter afterward that the homeowner might have been willing to let her get off by simply saying she was sorry: "So the panel kept working at it until a reasonable agreement was reached." The reasonable agreement was that the girl would do 20 hours of cleanup work in a park. As No. 5 of the board's "underlying principles" stresses, the "panel will resolve cases in a matter which is satisfactory to both parties and to the community."

Paradoxically, while dispute settlement offers the poor ready access to a forum where they can press their grievances, there are some who fear that it may be considered a second-class system of justice for those who cannot afford to go first class. Courts are respected, it is argued, precisely because they are expensive and involve highly-paid professionals. At a recent meeting of the National Council on the Role of the Courts, a Justice Department advisory body, one member cautioned that "anything that is done on the cheap is going to be regarded as inferior."

Some legal experts also worry that the constitutional rights of disputants may be trampled inadvertently in the rush toward informality. "An especially sensitive or confused individual," suggests Frederick E. Snyder, an assistant dean of Harvard Law School, "might easily interpret the zeal of the mediators as the demands of people who occupy positions of authority in the criminal justice system. He might volunteer incriminating information that one way or another could be used as evidence, or lead to evidence in a criminal proceeding later launched against him."

Lawyers' organizations, though, have looked kindly upon dispute settlement, in large part because they view it as a means of thinning out the serried ranks of cases awaiting trial. The supporters of dispute settlement are concerned. "Most of the programs that claim to reduce court caseloads are kidding themselves," says Rupert, "It's a funding game that we're

not into playing." Neighborhood centers may give judges' calendars little relief because, for one thing, the disputes they attract would never be taken into court. Besides, argues Howard S. Bellman, a vice president of the Wisconsin Center for Public Policy, "mediation should be offered because it's a better way to resolve disputes—not because it's a way to relieve courts. Otherwise, you may mimic the courts in their worst abuses. You may end up with a trillion cases that you can't handle."

Some practitioners also agree with Pryce that direct linkage with the court system, while providing a temptingly automatic source of cases and funds, introduces an unwanted element of coercion. A criminal defendant, for example, may agree to mediation only because he believes he will be prosecuted otherwise. Close connection with the court system could also transform what is now a flexible forum into a rule-ridden adjunct of the very judicial bureaucracy it was supposed to supplant. The Kansas City center was run directly by the municipal government, and Federal evaluators found that as a result it was hampered by having to comply with standard paperwork and personnel regulations. One rule limited flexibility by making it difficult to assign staff members to positions for short periods.

Another potential source of funding, apart from the courts, recently dried up. The Dispute Resolution Act, signed by President Carter earlier this year, authorized \$10 million to support neighborhood programs. But the Office of Management and Budget has blocked the appropriation on fiscal grounds.

That leaves dispute settlement with the challenge of finding another way to turn ephemeral storefronts into permanent institutions. Many of the centers are running on seed money grants that temporarily pay the rent and the staff members who support the neighbor-mediators. But as Paul Wahrhaftig, a Pittsburgh-based organizer, has asked: "Can one rely on the neighbors when they are not backed by a foundation?"

Some dispute settlement planners are willing to try. They are, in fact, moving away from affiliation with government, from big offices and from big budgets. They are contemplating a utopian withering away of the staff. Their aim is to train a cadre of citizen mediators who will function with negligible overhead. The Community Board's goal is to have mediators scattered throughout San Francisco with only a skeleton crew at a central training headquarters. Ultimately, some believe, dispute settlement will become a state of mind bereft of corporal existence. "We are attempting," explains Pryce, "to instill in people the ability to solve disputes among themselves, without courts, lawyers—or even centers like ours."

The new pro-lifers

MARIE CLAIRE BLAKEMAN

WEARING an Indian cotton blouse and peasant skirt, Valerie Evans switches on a Grateful Dead album and sits down to discuss her political activism. A veteran of anti-nuclear and anti-draft demonstrations, the 20-year-old Berkeley student seems the very picture of youthful protest, 1980-style.

Except for one thing: she is against abortion.

Evans is part of a new generation of young people joining the ranks of the anti-abortion movement out of an unswerving commitment to the sanctity of human life—and not because of conservative political views. Some are anti-nuclear activists whose concern for the next generation grew from studying the effects of radiation on the unborn. Some work

for the rights of the disabled or retarded and fear that infanticide will be practiced on those born with mental or physical handicaps. Others are pacifists who find they can no longer support abortion while opposing war and capital punishment.

"Abortion, capital punishment, euthanasia, war—anything that takes people's lives and pretends there's some reason for it—it's really all the same," Evans says. "There's no reason at any time to take someone's life. Nobody can pretend to have a right to do that."

Making their abortion stand consistent with their other political convictions is cited as the number one reason most young progressives join the right-to-life camp. Juli Loesch, an anti-nuclear activist in Erie, Pa., says right-to-life groups challenged her thinking on abortion when she spoke to them about the dangers of nuclear power: "How could I talk about saving unborn children from the potential hazards of radiation while I was ignoring the real danger from abortion?"

Author Jeremy Rifkin, who organized the Left-oriented People's Bicentennial Commit-

tee in 1976, sees an even deeper parallel between the anti-nuclear and right-to-life movements: "But begin from a set of absolute principles. When one starts with an absolute set of principles—the sanctity of life—one is obligated to move uncompromisingly on that set of principles. The young are demanding that moral consistency now. It's less than a trend but more than a glimmer."

Consistency, commitment, non-violence: that these words should come from a generation which has been written off as apathetic at best, or nihilistic at worst, is startling. It reveals an idealism many thought dead and buried in the cynical Seventies.

Given the unpleasant choice between unwanted pregnancy or unwanted abortion, this new generation of idealists argues that both are unacceptable. "Abortion is viewed as a solution to problems for which it really isn't," Valerie Evans says. "The answer to rape is not abortion, it's stopping rape. The answer to people not being able to feed their children is not to abort them, it is jobs and changing the system."



Part of their agenda to "change the system" emphasizes better methods of contraception, including the promotion of natural birth control. Financial aid for single parents and daycare centers are also presented as ways to ease the burdens of child rearing. Basically, the new pro-lifers put more stock in changing society's consciousness rather than just changing laws—and they do not see the answers coming from any particular political ideology.

Nevertheless, their own rationale leaves some critical questions in the abortion controversy unanswered. Young right-to-lifers have some difficulty rebutting the charge that to make abortion illegal will result in the proliferation of dangerous back-alley abortions once again.

And, in their commitment to the preservation of human life, the pacifist pro-lifers would even deny abortions in the case of rape or incest. In such cases, they insist, the woman is still carrying an innocent human life. She should get support and love during her pregnancy and, if necessary, give the child up for adoption after it is born.

Moreover, whatever their convictions on other matters, young right-to-lifers may still be portrayed as part of the reactionary right wing.

But the fact that the progressive young are interacting with older, more conservative right-to-lifers could also be the beginning of a whole new set of political alliances, which transform the opinions of both groups. Mike Budde, who works with Americans United for Life, in Chicago, sees the abortion issue as a meeting ground for divergent groups which reject both Republicans and Democrats. "The right-wing types may be on the cutting edge of an entirely new synthesis," he says. "They're getting swept along as much as the rest of us."

Juli Loesch says that one of the main reasons she organized Pro-Lifers for Survival, a progressive anti-abortion group, was to "draw conservative religious people into the arms race question. The nuclear arms race is megabortion."

On the other end of the spectrum, Jane Muldoon, vice president of National Right to Life—which endorses Ronald Reagan—also sees "a natural affinity between the anti-nuclear movement and the pro-life movement."

The ramifications of such alliances between otherwise hostile groups could extend beyond simple politics. "If the movement to protect the sanctity of life in every aspect of society succeeds, it will be truly revolutionary,"

Jeremy Rifkin says. "Not revolutionary in the old sense of liberal vs. conservative or socialist vs. capitalist, but revolutionary in the sense of a new way of looking at the world."

That new vision of reality holds that nature is a close, finite system which must be sustained, not exploited. For the new pro-lifers, the throw-away mentality which disturbs ecologists also is a threat to future generations. The argument about unwanted children, they say, turns infants into consumer products, to be discarded at will. Taking this idea one step further, they fear that acceptance of abortion will allow society to rationalize the elimination of defective human "products."

Those who make the "quality of life" argument say that if it's okay to detect and abort a Down's Syndrome child before birth—then why not after birth also," observes Rose Evans, Valerie's mother, who teaches retarded children. "It's the same child, I think that's a dangerous trend."

But it's not the only trend which ties the new right-to-lifers into a larger network of groups that regard any manipulation of human life as dangerous.

"I think the whole movement will come together over the issue of genetic engineering," Mike Budde says. "Labels like liberal and conservative don't mean much when you talk about a basic reordering of the human race."

[C] PNS

The end of homeowners?

THOMAS BROM

In what appears increasingly to be a desperate effort to shore up the American dream of individual home ownership, the housing finance industry and state legislatures have, in recent years, joined to bring about the most dramatic changes in mortgage lending in four decades.

So sweeping are the new methods of home loan magic that the very meaning of home ownership is changing. It used to be that a home was more than a house; it was a solid investment and a dependable hedge against inflation. No more.

The first trend is the replacement of traditional fixed-rate mortgages with "renegotiable rate" loans and graduated payment

mortgages, known sarcastically as "Gyp'Ems" because the loan principle actually increases during the first few years. Floating rate mortgages have been around since 1970, but their popularity with lenders has boomed with the recent rise in interest rates.

Many state-chartered savings and loan associations now have the authority to adjust mortgage interest rates without limits.

In early October the Federal National Mortgage Association, known as Fannie Mae, proposed the same open-ended lending policy for federally-chartered mortgage lenders. And at the same time, Fannie Mae announced that it would no longer buy mortgages on the market unless the interest on the loans returned to market rates when the house is sold.

In a world of permanent inflation, the effect of both moves will be to insure the lender's risk at the expense of the borrower. It will be increasingly difficult for new buyers to "assume" the previous owner's below market interest rate, and holders of floating mortgages will see their interest rates anchored to inflation. Lenders, on the other hand, will be fully protected.

The second trend is even more ominous. After a decade of watching homeowners prosper as their houses appreciated in value, mortgage lenders are now making "equity sharing" loans that take a large slice of the "profit" when the owner sells the house. In return for a piece of the inflationary gain, the lender agrees to knock a few percentage points off the interest rate.

Equity sharing loans are a direct attack on the homeowner's nest egg—the appreciation that many families rely on as their only hedge against inflation. But because fewer and fewer people can buy into the housing market, even public agencies such as the California Department of Housing and Community Development are now offering equity sharing loans to young couples who are unable to afford a home any other way.

The housing industry hopes these proposals will keep middle income people in the market for single family homes. But the financing plans are built on a very shaky foundation.

"If family income doesn't keep pace with inflation—and it isn't—the new loan structures will only lead to more forced sales," says Joel Rubenzahl, a housing planner for Oakland's Community Economics, Inc.

Nonetheless, the new loans are sweeping the housing finance industry. Robert Gnaizda, a Public Advocates attorney in San Francisco, fought the renegotiable rate mortgage bill in the California legislature this year. Even though the bill, as Gnaizda said, "would have subjected hundreds of thousands of Californians to losing their equity or their housing," it passed overwhelmingly. It was vetoed by Governor Brown, who then signed a compromise bill.

"The housing industry tried to shift the entire risk of lending onto the borrower," said Gnaizda. "The industry got most of what it wanted by refusing to make any more long-term fixed rate loans—and by lubricating the process in Sacramento with campaign donations to three key legislators."

Gnaizda dismisses the standard complaint of the mortgage companies that they must lend long-term but still pay high short-term interest to depositors. "Fifty percent of all homeowners will sell their houses within two to seven years," he says. Most lenders then adjust the interest on the loan to current rates.

The housing turnover rate in California is closer to every four years, according to Advance Mortgage Company assistant vice president Clinton Elmore of Emeryville. Because a high turnover rate makes shared equity mortgages especially profitable, Advance is

pioneering the concept in Phoenix, Seattle, Denver, and Philadelphia.

"We picked high turnover cities to test the loans," Elmore says. Advance takes 50 percent of the equity when the house is sold in return for dropping the interest rate three percentage points.

"They'll be available in California soon," he adds. "We put out \$100 million in the pilot program, and the money was gone in three hours. Sure, it's a good deal for the lender, but only if the housing turns over quickly. It's a gamble. We're putting nine-and-a-half percent money out there, and then we just hope people will sell."

David Bryson, an attorney for the National Housing Law Project in Berkeley, sees the new loans as a further threat to middle income families. "If the renegotiable interest rates and shared equity concepts are ever put together," he says, "people will really be in bad shape."

Kenneth Rosen, chairman of the Center of Real Estate and Urban Economics at the University of California, Berkeley, predicts that an average home in California will cost \$220,000 by 1990—and that the new mortgages will be the only avenue to home ownership.

"The burden for housing families must be shifted to the localities," Rosen says. "It is the only way to break the no-growth mentality in this state."

But Rubenzahl of Community Economics, and other critics of the private housing market, believe that single-family home ownership is already permanently beyond the reach of most Americans. The only way out for many families will be housing cooperatives, jointly owned through a single mortgage and governed by a limit on equity build-up. This effectively removes the housing from the usual inflationary spiral—but also restricts the value of a house as an investment.

Ed Kirshner, housing director of the National Consumer Cooperative Bank in Washington D.C., strongly supports the limited equity concept. "No matter what you do to increase housing production or lower costs," he says, "as long as there is a profit every time there is a change of ownership, the price will continue to rise."

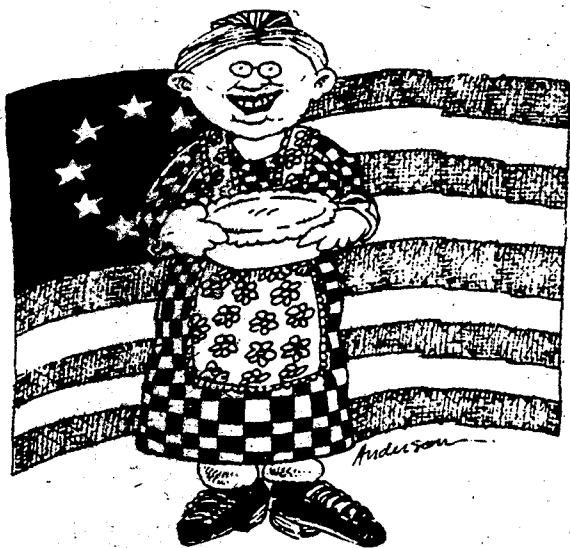
In the late 1960s, Kirshner helped design townhouses in Columbia, Maryland, for low income families. "Our biggest mistake," he says now, "was selling them." Originally offered for \$17,000, the townhouses now bring \$150,000. That experience convinced Kirshner of the urgent need for new, less speculative methods of home financing.

Limited equity cooperatives, however, represent a substantial break with home ownership expectations in the U.S.—and mortgage lenders don't like them. In fact, despite the finance industry's recent interest rate victories and access to home owner's equity, mortgage bankers are feeling persecuted because commercial banks are competing for the investor's dollar.

The new mortgage plans—designed to stave off disaster—are now law in California, New Jersey and much of the Midwest. Once they become national policy through federal bank board action, the loans will permanently alter what people can expect from housing. They add still more uncertainty to home ownership, deprive many families of their best chance to beat inflation, and reveal the obvious—the housing market doesn't work as advertised.

For most Americans, the home owning dream is already dead and buried, even though no one was notified of the funeral.

[C]Pns



Apple Pie

The American Medical Association wants to ban all ambulance sirens. The AMA has released a new study which concludes that noise pollution, particularly in big cities, is triggering a variety of emotional illnesses and widespread hearing losses. One of the most common offenders is the siren. The medical group says that noise from sirens inflicts hearing damage to bystanders while contributing little to the well-being of the patient being transported. Other major noise polluters are power lawnmowers, jet planes, compressors, motorcycles, food blenders, dishwashers and "radio and stereos turned up on rock and roll bands."

The Los Angeles Times reports that "granny bashing" is a serious, growing problem. Granny bashing involves adult children beating their aged parents senseless; and one estimate is that at least a half-million aged Americans are physically abused by their families every year.

Don't throw away your old tokens, worn out dice and wrinkled play money from over-used board games. Help is on the way. A new game called "Recycle" has been created that consists of an overlay board to cover your old game, mail and market cards, tokens that represent tons of glass, newspaper and cans to be recycled and "organization identity badges." Players pick an identity such as "Public Service Disposal" and set off to see how many tons of trash can be recycled. The game sells for \$10 from the Recycle Game, Box 3895, Modesto, CA 95352.

A frustrated TV watcher has formed a club whose sole aim is to get Howard Cosell off the air. Clifford Sullivan calls his organization the "Enough is Enough Club." His plan involves a step-by-step way to convince the sponsors of "Monday Night Football" that listeners won't buy their products as long as Cosell appears on the broadcasts. For a \$3 fee members get a copy of the plan as well as a "Boot Howard" bumper sticker. The Enough Is Enough Club operates out of Box 925, Hurst, Texas 76053.

Ronald Reagan's revisionist theories on pollution continue to thrive. You'll recall his claim during the campaign that 93 percent of the nation's air pollution is caused by trees and decay-

ing vegetation (which led workers at the Agriculture Department to design a rubber stamp with a tree on it and the words "Stop Me Before I Kill Again."). Well, according to the Chicago Tribune, Reagan also told a group of Ohio steelworkers that oil slicks are beneficial to clean air and people's health. He asserted that the oil slicks off the California coast have made Santa Barbara "a great health spa for this country." Said Reagan: "The southwesterly prevailing winds, blowing across a large oil slick off the coast of Santa Barbara, purified the air and prevented the spread of infectious diseases."

The Westinghouse Corporation has come up with a fluorescent light developed specially to intensify the colors of objects. The light bulbs are lined with phosphor coatings designed to emit light only in the blue-violet, green, and orange-red parts of the color spectrum. When these colors are mixed, the human eye then perceives a white light that makes everything look more colorful. The market for this curious invention: supermarkets and department stores who could use it to make meat look redder, vegetables greener or fabrics brighter.

A University of Kansas entomologist says that killer bees are slowing spreading across Latin America and are advancing on the United States. Dr. Orley Taylor writing in Science magazine, says that published reports which claim that the africanized bees have been stopped are false. He says that the bees, known for their ferocious nature, are still moving northward at the rate of 150-to-300 miles per year. He predicts that swarms of the killer bees will reach Panama next year.

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Notes from the real world

College Press Service reports that PIRGS around the nation's campuses are running into trouble. At Indiana University, for example, the Indiana PIRG received less than half of the student backing it got last year.

The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists says the big danger of accidental nuclear war comes from human error. According to the publication, about 5000 military personnel who have access to nuclear weapons are removed from duty each year for violations ranging from alcohol and drug abuse to "aberrant behavior." The publication cites the case of one guard on a nuclear base who went "beserk" with a loaded carbine. The guard later testified that he had begged not to be assigned to a job where he would have to handle weapons, but said that his pleas were ignored. The Bulletin says that on some minuteman nuclear bases, just four men can launch a hydrogen bomb attack without any clearance from higher-ups.

Ecologist Norman Myers says that one-fifth of all the species living on the earth today probably will be extinct with twenty years. We're losing about one species a day right now and by the end of the decade, Myers thinks, we may be losing one species an hour. It's all thanks to the desire of the species called homo sapiens for raw materials and land.

A coalition of consumer, health, environmental and energy organizations has been formed in Washington to oppose the development of the satellite power systems program. The program calls for the placing of 60 satellites, each one about the size of Manhattan Island, into orbit 22,000 miles above the earth by the year 2025. Each satellite would use solar energy to produce about 5000 megawatts of power; the power would then be beamed by microwave to earth-based receiving antennas about

50 square miles in area. Estimates of the total cost of the SPS program range from \$500 billion to \$2.5 trillion, making it the most costly project in human history.

A group calling itself the Coalition Against Satellite Power Systems contends that the enormous amounts of microwave radiation being beamed to the earth from space could result in serious environmental and health hazards.

CHUCK STONE: The black vote

Watching the Electoral College numbers climb to a lopsided margin, I wandered back to Charlotte, N.C., on May 3, 1976, to rendezvous with a first impression. Jimmy Carter was one of four presidential candidates who spoke to 1000 black Democrats. His disingenuous performance appalled me. I wrote then that after the delegates had spent two intensive days drawing up position papers on the crisis of the cities, full employment, health care, housing, etc., "along comes the peanut plantation overseer to reduce their deliberations to something like, 'Now y'all tell me whut big jobs y'all want and ah'll do what ah can, you hear?' The last man who did that was able to parlay his deviousness all the way to the White House. We dubbed him 'Tricky Dicky.'"

On November 4, Jimmy's shimmy finally caught up with him and ran out. If there's any consolation for black voters who, for the fifth time in 28 years, marched to a different presidential drummer, they can recall their vote in splendid isolation for George McGovern in 1976. Four years later, when Richard Nixon tried to steal the United States Constitution, blacks could smirk and wisely trumpet, "We told you so."

They may or may not be right again in 1980. If one nobility attends blacks, it's their loving loyalty. When the Titanic was sinking they were still making up the beds and answering room service.

In 1976, they gave Jimmy Carter 92 percent of their votes. Four years later, despite an increase in their lives' misery, they remained faithfully on Jimmy Carter's plantation with the same 92 percent, nervous that Ronald Reagan's plantation might not be as equipped with air conditioners.

Black leaders contributed to this hysteria. They also did their constituency a grave disservice by painting Reagan as some kind of Neanderthal ogre who will scrap Brown v. Board of Education for Plessy v. Ferguson.

Genial-natured Ronald Reagan is neither as mean-spirited nor as vindictive as Jimmy Carter. The landslide proved Jimmy Carter was singing out of tune and Ronald Reagan, the first president to be elected as a television candidate, was the choir director. For black leaders to have coalesced into a political monolith so completely out of touch

with the rest of the country's mood compromises their ability to act as power brokers in the coming Reagan administration and retrenchment-minded Congress.

Blacks must now go about the business of housecleaning their obsolete "Negro leaders" who have been hustling their peacock-strutting agenda instead of the black community's best-interest agenda.

Where do blacks go from here? Like it or not, they have got to deal with a president, a Congress and a national mood antagonistic to their interests. They can stay home and sulk or they can heed God's advice to Job to "gird up they loins like a man" and work to become the balance of power in state legislatures and municipal governments.

They must houseclean their national leadership and shift the focus of its style.

They might begin with the Congressional Black Caucus, which ought to draft unanimously the distinguished California veteran, Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins as chairman.

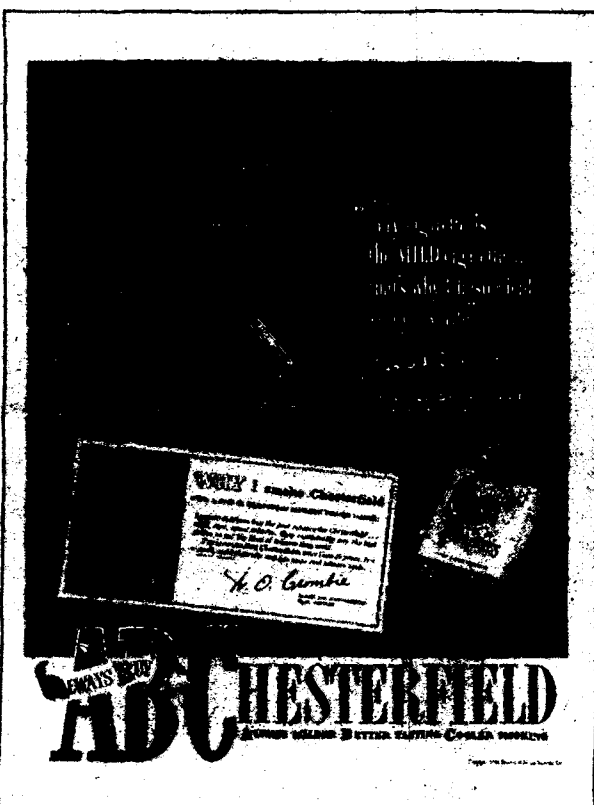
For blacks, the next few years may be the times that try their souls. They must lose neither their old-time religion nor their revolutionary fervor for justice. They must not surrender to despair.

As Woodrow Wilson put it, "We have forgotten the very principles of our origin if we have forgotten how to object, how to resist, how to agitate, how to pull down and build up, even to the extent of revolutionary

ACTION NOTES

NEIGHBORHOOD REPORTS: Three useful reports have been issued by the Office of Neighborhoods at HUD. Funding Sources for Neighborhood Groups tells how to raise or find money ranging from grassroots efforts to federal projects. Neighborhood Oriented Programs of the Federal Government is a clear, informative digest of federal programs that relate to neighborhoods. Neighborhood Self-Help Case Studies provides abstracts of reports on various projects funded by the Office of Neighborhoods. After you've read the abstracts you can order the case studies that interest you. For information on any of these write the Office of Neighborhoods, Department of Housing and Urban Development, DC 20410. But don't delay. Who knows; this offer may expire on January 21. Which suggests to us that this is as good a time as any to say thanks to Gino Baroni and the gang down at HUD who took a real interest in neighborhood governance.

AMERICAN INDIAN CIVIL RIGHTS HANDBOOK: Published by the US Commission on Civil Rights, DC 20425.



practices, if it is necessary to readjust matters."

I'm optimistic about the country's future. I'm optimistic about Ronald Reagan. And I'm optimistic that one of these days, all of us are going to get our act together. We might as well start now.

[Phila. Daily News]

Token Veeps

KEN BRESLER

A new stereotype of blacks and women has emerged: the vice-presidential candidate of a small leftist party.

In the last four elections, the Communist Party USA has nominated a black for vice president four times; the Socialist Workers Party has done so three times. The People's Party, which contested only the 1972 election before fading, nominated a black for the number two slot. So did the Workers World Party this year in its first campaign.

Women ran for vice president in 1980 for the new Citizen's Party, the newly-reconstituted Socialist Party, the Socialist Workers Party (for the second straight election), and the Communist Party USA, which has nominated a black woman.

If the vice presidency is "the most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived or his imagination conceived," as John Adams, the first VP asserted, then what is the significance of campaigning for it on party tickets that will draw one percent of the vote — if exceptionally successful?

The tendency of leftist parties to nominate blacks "does not seriously enhance political influence or the advancement of blacks in American political life," says Dr. Milton Morris, research director of the Joint Center for Political Studies, an organization that both observes and assists minority candidacies. He contends that black nominees are being used by the small parties, albeit willingly, for purposes such as attracting white leftist support, which is often more important than the negligible amount offered by blacks.

As for the effect of female minor-party vice-presidential candidates, "It helps and it hurts," says Ranny Cooper, executive director of the Women's Campaign's Fund, which seeks to increase the number of women

elected to office. If a woman has no chance of being elected, she says, "her running does not further the cause of women in that all it really does is reinforce in some people's minds the image of women taking on totally unrealistic challenges, not being able to run good campaigns, not being able to raise money, and losing."

She takes exception to the sentiment, "Well, I'm going to run because I'll serve as a model." We have enough women running; we need serious candidates."

Small parties can, however, accustom Americans to the idea of a female vice-presidential candidate if not a female vice president, and Cooper sees this as a plus. Even for Reagan to float the names of Anne Armstrong, former U.S. Ambassador to Britain, and Senator Nancy Kassebaum (R-Kan) as potential running mates without any serious intention of tapping them represents, she feels, an advance for women in politics over the past 20 years.

Senator Kennedy's pre-convention vice-presidential wish list also contained two women, Rep. Lindy Boggs (D-La) and Secretary of Education Shirley Hufstедler. The appearance on the list of a black, Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, seemed unremarkable, even expected.

But in the fall of 1971, Edmund Muskie, then a Senator and the front-runner for the Democratic presidential nomination, caused a brief squabble by making a candid and probably accurate statement that a ticket with a black on it "was not electable" and therefore "would not serve the purposes" of either the Democratic Party or civil rights. Democratic Senators McGovern, Humphrey, and Jackson, all rivals for the nomination, publicly disagreed with Muskie. So did President Nixon, thereby fueling speculation that he would dump Agnew in '72 in favor of black Senator Edward Brooke (R-Mass).

Brooke, who is no longer in the Senate, figured in speculation this year concerning John Anderson's running mate. Anderson also met with Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-NY) during his selection process and confirmed that he was considering former Rep. Barbara Jordan, both of whom are black.

For Brooke, Chisholm, or Jordan to run with a major candidate would have strengthened the role of blacks or women or both in American politics. But here the paradox comes into play: had Anderson selected any of them, he would not have been a major candidate; picking a black or female running mate in 1980 is unfortunately a tacit concession of electoral doom. Anderson would have joined the ranks of the other minor candidates, while relegating his choice for VP to the status of political novelty with which small parties content themselves.

Anderson wanted to be a major candidate. And so instead of practicing affirmative action for vice-presidential candidates, he observed the new ritual of musing on the "possibility" of a black or woman (or black woman) before choosing a white male.

Although this ritual is understandable, Dr. Morris is not convinced that it involves real political gains for blacks. A major-ticket nomination devoid of symbolism is closer to his idea of a significant break-through.

Morris predicts that the Democrats will remain the party of black Americans; an effort to retain their allegiance after a realignment of parties could cause the Democrats to nominate a black for vice president in 1988 or as soon as 1984.

Cooper makes no guess as to which major party will be first to nominate a woman. Although the Democrats are more liberal, Cooper points out that of the 63 female state

representatives newly elected in 1978 — whom she hopes will eventually win higher office and join the pool of potential vice-presidential and presidential candidates — 62 are Republicans. She expects major female vice-presidential and presidential candidates to emerge within the next two decades, when 15 percent of the Senate will be female and when doubts about women in politics will have diminished.

For now, the doubts remain. Twenty percent of the registered Republicans and independents polled by Gallup before the GOP convention said they would have been less inclined to vote for Reagan if he named a woman as his running mate; 14 percent would have been more inclined. Nineteen percent said they would have been less likely to vote for Reagan if he ran with a black while 11 percent said they would have been more likely. Over 60 percent said it made no difference in either case.

Meanwhile, Shirley Chisholm's 1972 quest for the presidency, however quixotic, remains the most prominent bid by either a black or woman for the nation's highest offices. Her friend and colleague from the House of Representatives, Ed Koch, who now serves as Mayor of New York, reportedly asked her then whether he might be considered as her running mate. "Alas, no," Chisholm responded. "The time has not yet come for a Jewish vice president."

MEDIA: Strategy & score

BOB ALPERIN

In the media's post-election self-analyses the concern was not: did we illuminate issues for the public? It was: why didn't we predict the size of Reagan's win? This reflects the



SOLAR T-SHIRTS: Support solar energy with this "Solar in the Cities" T-shirt from the Institute for Local Self-Reliance. The shirts are tan with a four-color design. L,M,S. \$7.36 including postage and DC tax. Send order to DC Gazette, 1739 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009.

LACITIES!
★ HUNDREDS OF ACTIVIST ORGANIZATIONS
★ HUNDREDS OF ALTERNATIVE MEDIA

After a three year hiatus, the Gazette has revived its National Action Guide. This listing provides the names and addresses of hundreds of national activist organizations plus a list of alternative media around the country. For a copy send \$1 to DC Gazette, 1739 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009. Just ask for NAG.

priorities of coverage from before the primaries.

Alert consumers could have learned the ways in which the three media-publicized presidential candidates varied on the issues they cared to discuss. But the major focus of reporting and comment was on the game — the strategy and the score. Pollsters tracked endless voter shifts while analysts searched candidate actions for clues to their electoral effect.

Never was this emphasis so vividly illustrated nor so obviously in poverty than in the coverage of the candidates' Middle East stands. Rather than concern themselves with the vital economic and international political implications of candidate views (or even the accuracy of the statements), the media saw things mostly in terms of how Jewish support was effected.

The big thing about Reagan's B'nai B'rith speech was its very warm audience response. Reagan's entirely inaccurate statement that the UN had designated Jordan as the Arab Palestinian state went uncorrected. Later his gross misstating of key UN Middle East resolutions enjoyed similar good fortune. That such matters might reveal much about the candidate's knowledge, the bias of his advisors' information, or the chances for good relations with previously pro-US Arabs was not reflected in the coverage. That neither Carter nor Anderson jumped on these errors was itself news. Perhaps fearful of seeming "pro-Arab" they counted on the media to do the job. After all, Reagan's misidentifying the Klan's birthplace had been a Great Issue For A Day.

In general, candidates sought to maintain tight control over what was said, when, and where. Themes were transmitted through carefully crafted speeches and spot TV ads. The press never realized the need for a change in their own tactics if the voters were to learn about the candidates. In the manner of references to the number of days of the hostages' captivity, why not say Candidate X reached the coveted 200 mark in avoiding any detailed discussion of world affairs?

The news panelists at the Carter-Reagan joint appearance noted later that they had agreed it was not their job to press for answers as they might do in another forum, nor should they introduce new material. They were, in effect, prompters cueing second-hand rhetoric. Clearly ways must be found to drive candidates from their cautiously packaged positions.

Much of the campaign was conducted in an atmosphere friendly to talk of the need to be tough, to stand up to them, and to remedy America's weakness. The cures were varieties of military spending. Not surprisingly, the closer military relationship with Egypt or the wisdom of US bases in Kenya or Somalia went virtually unquestioned. If we do not want to ask if it is moral to provide weapons for 12-year olds to fight in the Ogaden (true Somalia promises not to use US weapons offensively), we might wonder if it's prudent

to give arms to a country which claims large chunks of all its neighbors. (As I write, renewed Somali attacks have caused a state of emergency in parts of Kenya.)

In view of Reagan's past statements on Southern Africa (let South Africa alone for awhile, recognize the Transkei—one of the black homelands given an independence recognized by no one save South Africa, troops if Ian Smith wanted them) it might have been reasonable to ask if his views have changed; whether he favors a UN-negotiated settlement in Namibia (and the chance marxist SWAPO would win an election), or whether he is aware of the costs elsewhere in Africa (possible loss of trade, investment opportunities, bases, and Nigerian oil) if his past views were to become policy?

Rather than asking these things we heard of the Soviet gain because Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Mugabe is influenced by marxism. This analysis is not deterred by his generous behavior to former African foes, white farmers, and multi-national corporations, nor by the Soviet Union's failure (as late as mid-November at least) to even have an ambassador in Salisbury.

The press failure to pursue Reagan's picture of the world in detail worked to the disadvantage of Carter who was trapped in the real world of Arab and African states seeking to exercise policies independent of US, European, and Soviet influence even as traditional colonial-era economic ties often remain a reminder of dependence.

American Journal

David Armstrong

One of the most adroit accomplishments of the huckster's art in the recent campaign was the soft-sell of Ronald Reagan as your basic Mr. Nice Guy. His head cocked bashfully to one side, a boyish grin on his face, Reagan appeared as the very picture of the swell fellow you could count on to bring warm blankets and hot cider to the hayride. By way of contrast, Jimmy Carter, who only four years ago successfully preached the gospel of love to Americans, appeared as a mean-spirited demon trying to sully the reputation of Ronnie the Nice.

Reagan's packaged charm apparently rubbed off on journalists charged with scrutinizing his performance. "By and large," wrote Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway in *Rolling Stone* recently, reporters "rather like Reagan, and this hasn't hurt his campaign at all." Veteran correspondent Lou Cannon of the *Washington Post*, for example, described Reagan as a "decent and good man." The media's generally-benign view of Reagan, combined with his managers' success in discouraging the candidate from departing from prepared scripts to really speak his mind, helps explain why Reagan won so handsomely.

When Reagan speaks extemporaneously, he is often not only clumsy, but nasty. As a resident of California when Reagan was governor, I remember him cracking crossly that, "It's just too bad we can't have an epidemic of botulism," when the Symbionese Liberation Army forced Randolph Hearst to donate food to needy people after the abduction of his daughter, Patricia. One doesn't

have to condone kidnapping to be appalled by that remark; it wasn't the poor who kidnapped Patty Hearst.

Reagan is also remembered in California for his bitter clashes with student protestors, particularly those in Berkeley. In 1970, frustrated by the continuous demonstrations on state university campuses, Reagan characterized student demonstrators as "cowardly fascists," adding that, "If it takes a bloodbath, let's get it over with. No more appeasement."

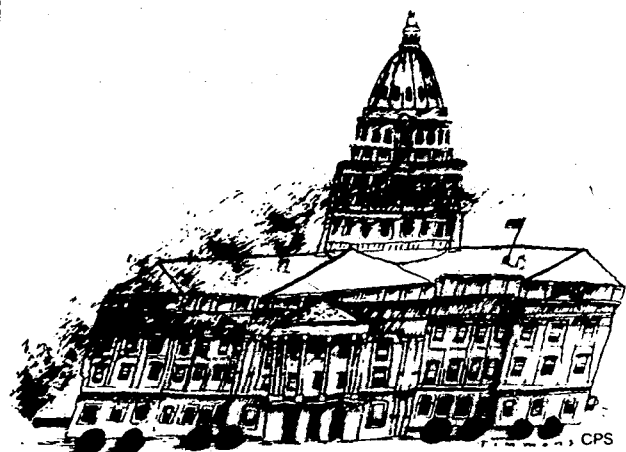
Such statements could, perhaps, be attributed to the heat of the moment — outbursts that Reagan reconsidered upon reflection. The historical record suggests, however, that Reagan's attacks on dissenters, the poor and the powerless was part of a carefully considered plan to advance his political career.

In an illuminating article in the *East Bay Express*, a weekly newspaper in Berkeley-Oakland, writer Seth Rosenfeld recalls that Reagan ran for governor in 1966 on a promise to "clean up the mess in Berkeley." Once in office, he appointed conservative regents who fired the liberal head of the university system, Clark Kerr. Reagan then, according to Rosenfeld, turned meetings of the regents into political circuses, which he both preceeded and followed with press conferences.

Rather than seeking to negotiate with students and acknowledge that their protests against the Vietnam War and what they saw as rigid curricula might have foundation in fact, Reagan moved to stir up "the mess" even more. In 1969, after county sheriff's deputies shot and killed a bystander during a demonstration and blinded another, Reagan sent the National Guard into Berkeley to restore law and order, imposing a nightly curfew and a ban on public meetings.

Reagan's get-tough actions didn't end dissent, however, but intensified it among persons determined to exercise their rights of free speech and assembly. Some veterans of those days think that apparent backfire was what Reagan, set on parlaying the frustration of the Silent Majority into political capital, had in mind. Seth Rosenfeld quotes a former UC-Berkeley administrator as saying that Reagan "was doing all he could to keep Berkeley a sore thumb. That way he could have something to yell about. If you've got a whipping boy, you can always crack the whip."

Come January, Ronald Reagan will be the chief executive of fifty states, not just one. Already, editorialists in major newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* are portraying the president-elect as an affable compromiser who understands the art of the possible — not as a warmongering madman, or a rightwing ideologue. One can only hope they're right. The recent past suggests, however, that our next president can, when it suits him, display an opportunistic mean streak that makes Jimmy Carter's desperate mud-slinging look like a Sunday School lesson.



THE PRESIDENTIAL RACES: This chart shows the percentage of vote received by each party in the last three presidential races. Of note is the fact that Carter fared worse than McGovern throughout the city and how the Anderson vote took votes away from both the other candidates in Ward Three.

REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL VOTE

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|----|----|
| 1972 | 17% | 26% | 50% | 11% | 9% | 10% | 9% | 6% |
| 1976 | 12% | 21% | 42% | 8% | 6% | 9% | 6% | 4% |
| 1980 | 10% | 16% | 35% | 6% | 4% | 8% | 4% | 3% |

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL VOTE

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-------|------|------|-----|-------|-------|
| 1972 | 81% | 72% | 49% | 88% | 90% | 88% | 90% | 93% |
| 1976 | 84% | 76% | 55% | 91% | 93% | 84% | 94% | 95% |
| 1980 | 73% | 64% | 42% | 86% | 88% | 77% | 89% | 91% |
| | ONE | TWO | THREE | FOUR | FIVE | SIX | SEVEN | EIGHT |

Walter Fauntroy

WALTER FAUNTROY: The chart below follows the fortunes of Walter Fauntroy in the three races he has run so far. Note that Fauntroy has lost support in Wards 1, 2, 3 and 6 in the past four years but has remained extremely stable in the other wards.

| | ONE | TWO | THREE | FOUR | FIVE | SIX | SEVEN | EIGHT |
|------|-----|-----|-------|------|------|-----|-------|-------|
| 1972 | 59% | 50% | 29% | 67% | 72% | 67% | 74% | 75% |
| 1976 | 77% | 71% | 52% | 87% | 89% | 81% | 90% | 77% |
| 1980 | 72% | 65% | 48% | 87% | 89% | 77% | 89% | 77% |

Ray v. Barry & Moore v. Moore

RAY VS. BARRY: In 1976 Marion Barry ran for city council at-large in a race somewhat similar to this year's race featuring John Ray. In both cases, Jerry Moore was the other major candidate running for the second open seat. Here's how Barry and Ray fared:

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| 1976 BARRY | 10870 | 12487 | 18673 | 19034 | 15600 | 12274 | 15892 | 8651 |
| 1980 RAY | 10447 | 9896 | 14755 | 17947 | 15275 | 11710 | 14238 | 7382 |

Ray showed himself to be weaker than Barry in Wards Two and Three but otherwise the votes are quite comparable. Here are Moore's results for the two years:

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------|------|------|-------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1976 MOORE | 5124 | 6439 | 17583 | 9478 | 6723 | 4811 | 5170 | 2345 |
| 1980 MOORE | 4591 | 5410 | 14178 | 8140 | 5921 | 4346 | 4633 | 1762 |

In 1976 Moore's only significant opposition was a black Statehood, Jo Butler. In 1980 he faced both a black Statehood, Charles Cassell, and a white independent, Joel Garner. Moore held his own, however, except in Ward Three where Garner got 6000 votes.

Familiar Faces

JOHN WILSON (WARD TWO) 1972: 6807 (68%) 1976: 12688 (73%) 1980: 12804 (78%)
 WILHELMINA ROLARK (WARD EIGHT) 1976: 81% 1980: 92%
 CHARLES CASSELL: 1972 (for delegate): 18,730 (11%) 1974 (city council) 23082 (7%)
 1980 (for city council) 15362 (7%)
 JOSEPHINE BUTLER: 1976(city council): 27487 (13%) 1980 (delegate): 14325 (9%)

Election Trivia

- The first local election of recent years was the school board race of 1968. There were 25 major candidates for eleven seats. Only one of them, Nadine Winter currently holds public office — and she lost in the 1968 race. The only other candidate who is still active in local politics was Charles Cassell, who lost the Ward One runoff against Nelson Roots.
- Lyndon Johnson got more votes in the 1964 presidential election than all the presidential candidates got this time. Jimmy Carter got 13,000 fewer votes this time than he did in 1976. Reagan got 6000 fewer votes than Ford did in 1976, 17000 less than Nixon in 1972 and 7000 less than Goldwater in 1964.
- Long Runs: Polly Shackleton won the 1964 race to become Democratic National Committeewoman. Walter Fauntroy was first elected to office in 1971 as was Hilda Mason and Marion Barry.
- Try, Try, Try Again: Few candidates have won office after being rejected by the voters in an earlier election. Most don't even try. A significant exception is H. R. Crawford, who ran in the 1974 Democratic city council primary and got only 5% of the vote. In 1978 he ran again and got 29% of the vote. This year he ran for office from his home ward, Ward Seven, and won.

DC EYE

WALDROP FENSTER

We're glad to see that Henry Fairlie's exquisite touch is not faltering. Ear reports that he wrote a piece for *Spectator* magazine in which he predicted a landslide victory — for Jimmy Carter.

According to Katherine Graham, the opening of the *Post's* new printing plant in Northern Virginia marks "the start of one of the most exciting periods of growth and development" in the paper's 103-year history. Maybe so, but the only difference we noted the next day was that we received the *Virginia Weekly* instead of the *District one*. Apparently, as Governor Dalton claimed at the opening, the *Post* now "is on Virginia's side."

Now that crime has shot up again, the cries for more police officers will start to drown out those of the victims. We should keep in mind, however, as Richard Cohen noted recently, that from 1975 to 1978 the size of the department dropped 647 officers and the number of major crimes also decreased. The real problem with urban police departments is that they are among the most tradition-bound and unimaginative of government agencies. Further, they are immune from the sort of criticism that other agencies receive when they do badly. If the number of fires increased 29%, there would be a demand for more fire fighters to be sure, but there also would be inquiries into the training and practices of the fire department. Or consider what happens when one person dies during or after an ambulance run. The public, press and politicians all start expressing their thoughts on how the case might have been handled better. This doesn't happen with the police.

A sensible approach to the current crime problem would be an inquiry into the methods and efficiency of the police department, rather than merely a knee-jerk assumption that more cops will take care of the matter. We suspect that within the department itself there are officers who could suggest how things might be handled better.

Two ideas that the *Gazette* has previously proposed is the establishment of a program of lateral entry for civilians at the higher levels of the department. This policy is followed in several foreign countries, permitting, for example, lawyers to come in at the higher ranks. This adds new skills and new perspectives to law enforcement.

Another idea is the establishment of a unarmed constabulary to deal with minor criminal matters in neighborhoods. We already allow stores to have security guards, but we persist in the notion that only armed, uniformed, highly trained and expensive police officers can maintain order in our communities. As a result, the cost of law enforcement goes up, efficiency goes down and skilled police officers

with all their fancy LEAA equipment are diverted from dealing with serious crimes to handle a fender-bender or a rock thrown through a window.

Neighborhood organizations and preservation groups will want to take a close look at the Department of Housing's new billboard regulations. The city is out to make a buck anywhere it can and so we can expect to see billboards flourishing here again.

Don't be surprised if the DC Bar turns its back on community and professional services. The issue is up before members right now and the Bar could decide not to permit members' dues to be used for such things as referral services and legal education programs. The organization's board of governors opposes the plan, saying that it would "transform the Bar from one of the premier lawyers' organization in the United States into a regulatory instrument concerned with little more than disciplinary and record-keeping functions that would scarcely deserve the name of a Bar at all."

But the fact is that the Bar has more than doubled in size in recent years and is far more weighted towards lawyer-lobbyists with little or no interest in the city. Many of them may not even live here. The lawyers have already defeated the professionals tax. If they signal once again their arrogant indifference to the city, the local government should consider legislative changes to mitigate the damage done.

Writing in *DC Teacher*, Yvonne Newell says: "It seems the National Education Association which for many years refused to call itself a union wants the title but doesn't want to pay the piper. The national headquarters of NEA, located at 16th & M NW, is tax exempt real estate. The tax status of the NEA's *** property was first questioned by Rep. Eldon Rudd at a public hearing in 1979. Rudd proposed language *** which would revoke NEA's \$282,000-a-year tax exemption. *** It would seem that since the NEA is involved in union organizing, representation campaigns, and endorsing political candidates, it should fall under the same regulations as all other labor organizations." Of course, *DC Teacher* is put out by the local affiliate of the AFT, which competes with the NEA for teacher members, but the point is well taken.

The grim story of huge windfall profits being made by developers thanks to public expenditures for such things as the Pa. Ave. Developers Commission and the convention center continues. Latest bonanza goes to Consumers United Group, a life and health insurance company that bought a tract at 13th & L NW in 1979 for \$2.3 million. It just sold for \$7.5 million. Not everyone is suffering an urban fiscal crisis, folks.

Long ago, this paper was known as the *Capitol East Gazette* and it served Near NE and Near SE. One of the most enjoyable and feisty people we would run across in those days was a retired French teacher named

Catherine Grigsby Mayo. She held her own with other activists much younger and introduced an element of good sense into the often chaotic situations of the sixties. She was a founder and president of the Trinidad Citizens Association in the 1940s, a member of the board of the Community Improvement Corporation, and was, for many years, on the faculty of Cardozo and Eastern. Sadly, she died last month.

Folger Apartments

ON - THE - PARK

One bedrooms, efficiencies and studios
411 2nd St. SE 765-2625

The city council will hold hearings on January 17 on no-fault automobile insurance legislation, an accident victim protection act and a compulsory insurance act. For copies of the legislation call 724-8050.

SALT OF THE EARTH BOOK-STORE: Non-profit, progressive, comprehensive. Open from 10 to 10, 7 days a week. 1762 Columbia Rd. NW. Info: 667-1770

Idea Mill

George Washington University is offering a program in employment policy that addresses problems confronting employment specialists and human resource managers and leads to a Masters of Science in Special Studies with a concentration in employment policy. Designed for working students who must attend school on a part-time basis, evening classes are held at the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service during the spring semester. Info: 676-6210 or 676-7061.

GW has established a Center for Telecommunications Studies which, according to the university, will provide a variety of "teaching and research activities geared to the telecommunications needs of industry and government." The center will offer a masters of science in special studies, a master of science in telecommunications and computers and a master of public administration.

American University has a special program for individuals who have years of work and life experience but little or no college. The program, called APEL (unfortunately an acronym for "Assessment of Prior Experiential Learning"), evaluates students' past activities, both paid and volunteer, to determine whether they qualify for academic credits. The APEL student may earn up to 30 hours of college credit for out-of-classroom learning. Info: Divisions of Continuing Education, 686-3405.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

FUZZY LANGUAGE

In the interest of accuracy, I draw your attention to frequent and widespread misuse of certain terms applied to Metro Transit Police. Media, more often than not, call them "Metro security guards," or "Metro security officers."

The use of those terms is abrasive to Metro Transit Police. Actually, they are the most highly trained police officers in this metropolitan area. They go through 12 weeks of instruction at the Northern Virginia Police Academy. They also attend eight weeks of classes to learn laws of the District of Columbia and State of Maryland. They get specialized training from the FBI and Drug Enforcement Agency. They are required to complete mandatory in-service training every two years. They must know the laws in all three jurisdictions because Metro trains and buses cross state lines. They are empowered and required by Public Law 94-306 to enforce all federal, state and local laws, ordinances, rules and regulations relating to offenses on or against Metro-controlled facilities or its personnel. *They have full authority equal to their associates on any of the local police forces.*

The term "security guard" or "security officer" implies less training and authority than that of regular sworn Metro Transit Police personnel. Metro's small corps of Special Police is deployed to protect its property. These are "security guards." They are not legally empowered to patrol trains, stations or parking lots; they cannot and never do make arrests in trains, stations or parking lots.

However, both Metro Transit Police and Metro Special Police wear brown uniforms.

In the interest of accuracy in future coverage, we ask that our police men and women be properly identified as *Metro Transit Police*.

We never see such misnomers as Metropolitan security guards, or U.S. Park security officers, or Washington Aqueduct guards, or U.S. Secret security, or Military guards. Those police forces have their proper names, and so do Metro Transit Police.

Now for the favor: Please cause this memo to be seen throughout your organization where stories and captions are written and edited so that the references to Metro Transit Police can be accurate.

Angus MacLean, Chief of Metro Transit Police, thanks you.

Dennie Stewart, Assistant Chief of Metro Transit Police, thanks you.

The men and women of Metro Transit Police thank you.

The men and women of Metro Special Police thank you.

And my staff and I, who hear about it every time you goof, thank you.

CODY PFANSTIEHL
Metro

[Would you accept "Metro's subterranean apple-snatchers?" — ED]

NEXT A VICTIMS' SHOW?

The following letter was sent recently to Peter Marzio, Director of the Corcoran Gallery of Art:

We are certain that all art lovers in the

Washington area are pleased that the Corcoran has arranged for the showing of the Armand Hammer Art Collection. It is a major cultural event that, once again, makes Washington an exciting and rewarding place to live, work and learn. The Corcoran has been part of this tradition and deserves credit for it.

However, there is another side to the Armand Hammer Art Collection. This is the pain and suffering, misery and deprivation, and mental and physical disease that thousands of people have suffered due to the irresponsible practices of some of Armand Hammer's companies — most notably Hooker Chemical Corp. and Island Creek Coal Co.

For every stunning picture in your exhibit, there is a family near Love Canal with chromosome damage, kidney problems or even cancer due to the irresponsible dumping of chemicals by Hooker. For every beautiful sculpture, there is a community in Appalachia with polluted water, cracked housing foundations or even an obliterated cemetery due to the callous practices of Island Creek.

We are not referring to past, historical events, either. Occidental Petroleum continues to violate numerous federal, state and local environmental laws, or is seeking to weaken them through the political process — as in Colorado right now, where Oxy's oil shale division wants to get around clean air protection laws for a dirty new process.

Because your gallery is showing Washington the "good" side of Armand Hammer, the side he wants posterity to remember him by, we think it is only right that people see the other side of his wealth, too: the side that hurt so many people in so many regions.

We are hereby requesting that the Corcoran assemble an "Armand Hammer's Victim's Art Show" consisting of artwork created by people in strip-mined areas of Appalachia, chemical-infested areas of New York, Michigan, Louisiana and elsewhere. In addition to being an educational exhibit for the many who don't know about the full Hammer story, it would also be an outstanding artistic and cultural event since much of this work is very beautiful despite its tragic overtones.

We suggest that a good date for opening the Victims' Show would be October 1, 1981 — exactly a year after the original Hammer exhibit opened.

PETER HARNIK
Chairman
Environmental Action's Filthy
Five Campaign Committee

CHARLES GARLOW
Staff Director
Americans Concerned About
Corporate Power

END OF A BOYCOTT

The boycott is over! On October 19th J.P. Stevens finally agreed to sign union contracts at their Roanoke Rapids plants and supporters of social justice won a major victory.

The consumer boycott, the corporate campaign, and the public pressure that finally forced J.P. Stevens to adhere to accepted standards of American labor relations, and that will now hopefully open the entire Sun-Belt area to legitimate unionization drives, are now over. We at ACTWU are proud of the role our entire organization played in this victory, and we are especially proud of the resolve and courage showed by the Stevens workers. But throughout this long battle we were mindful that our own resources were simply not great enough to successfully confront an adversary as powerful, as wealthy, and as recalcitrant as J.P. Stevens. The broad

• A reader in Takoma Park writes: "It's a good paper. I've learned a lot about DC from it. But I don't think you need to push populism when socialism is clearer. Archihorse is very funny. I'd suggest: more coverage of women's issues; more clear socialist analysis."

• A reader in Somerville, Mass., writes: "I was recently travelling around eastern US and wrote a note to myself to send you \$1. Though I'm not exactly sure why I wanted to do that, I'll bet you've got something I wanted. So please send me whatever it is that you have that I wanted. Here's my \$1. I can't wait to find out what it is."

• A reader in Vienna, Va., writes: "I think you should go national; be to the left what the American Spectator is to the right."

coalition of groups and individuals clearly made the crucial difference, and this historic event is surely a victory for that "coalition and conscience."

TERESA RAWKIN
PAUL MIGNINI
Citizens Committee for
Justice for J.P. Stevens
Workers

Apartment for rent

ERIC GREEN

Let's call him Harry — Dirty Harry. Finally he was moving out of my deluxe high-rise condominium in Foggy Bottom after turning the place into a movie set for "Sodom and Gomorrah."

Harry's eagerly awaited departure set into motion even more momentous events — events that proved that behind those inanimate ads in the newspaper stand real human soap-operas, far better than what you can see on day-time television.

It started the day after my "apartment for rent" ad went to press. There were a flood of phone calls. The most promising one was from a Mrs. Adams in Friendship Heights. Could she have the apartment today? — right now???

"Whatever you say. But shouldn't you see it first?" I asked, already celebrating the renting of the high-rise.

"No, that's not necessary. It sounds perfect," she insisted, sight unseen. "We'll take it."

Mrs. Adams agreed to all the terms. And she offered me a bonus — she and her husband traveled most of the year. The apartment would hardly ever be occupied, the same way that some cars are put up on blocks because of infrequent use.

Mrs. Adams' tour of the apartment proved anticlimatic — she was barely through the front door before she was pressing her deposit at me as well as the first month's rent.

I should have known that nothing, particularly renting condominiums, is that simple

in real life. The next day my Mrs. Adams called back.

"I'm sorry," she said sadly. "We can't take it."

"But yesterday you said you loved it — that it was the most beautiful thing you'd seen."

"Yes, I did. And I meant it too. But my husband and I have been transferred to North Borneo... to the jungle. You see we're missionaries. For Christ. God bless you."

Then Mrs. Adams' voice seemed to turn stone cold: "Oh, yes, I believe you owe us a little money?"

I didn't contest her claim. After all she had praised my apartment to the skies. I returned her \$395 deposit, plus the \$395 first month's rent, subtracting \$12 for what I termed "The Inconvenience."

A few hours later I settled on another bidder. She had a different appraisal of the world's "Most Beautiful Apartment."

"It's a pigpen," barked the woman, who had the same exact face of my fifth grade schoolmarm, Miss Sink. "A disgrace. What's this? — a liquor bottle? And I smell beer?"

Suddenly, against my better instincts, I found myself reverting to my fifth grade habits — that is blaming everything on someone else. "It's the last guy's fault," I said. "He was an animal... all night parties... he never cleaned..."

The new Miss Sink was exactly like the old one. She didn't buy excuses either.

"This is unacceptable. How dare you?"

The next candidates were a lovely, young Hispanic couple, the Juarez's, who described the apartment as "a dream come true."

"Oh thank you darling, what a wonderful wedding present," the new Mrs. Juarez cooed, giving her husband a dreamy smile.

"And look dear," added Mr. Juarez, opening the curtains to the front floor balcony, "you can see the Washington Monument from here."

"We're going to be so happy," gushed the newlyweds.

"Uh, excuse me," Me, the Killjoy said, raining on their parade. "But I'll need a deposit. \$395 plus the first month's rent."

"Ah, yes, the deposit," replied Mr. Juarez searching through his wallet. "Ah, excuse me, but we didn't bring our checkbook with us."

"But we'll have it first thing tomorrow," Mrs. Juarez quickly jumped in, probably noticing my grim smile. "You can trust us. And I'm going to bring my mother over to see it."

Somehow, for reasons never explained, Mother Juarez and Children did not show up the next day — or the next, after they had arranged the appointment. Two later dates were also broken.

The next applicant came from the "Kramer versus Kramer" school of marriage. This Mrs. Kramer was battling her husband for custody of their 12-year old daughter.

"And is that why you want to move?" I asked Mrs. Kramer, thinking that I should have a little background on my new tenant.

"Oh, you wouldn't believe what's going on at my building," she gasped, the thought of it causing both us to sob.

"I'm so sorry," I offered, trying to lend a sympathetic hand. "It's going on everywhere. You're not alone in this. But we all get over it."

"I won't."

"Yes you will. Listen, let's talk about it," I continued, thinking that I was already talking about it too much. "It'll cheer you up."

"I can't. It's too depressing."

"Come on, try."

"But it's so hopeless... they can't be stopped... I don't know what to do... You know what they're like."

In between her ramblings, I got the feeling that we weren't discussing the same subject.

"Excuse me," I said, withdrawing my sympathetic hand. "But who are we talking about? Who's THEM?"

"They're moving in like rats... Huh, don't you know... Haven't you heard? THEM? I thought everyone knew."

"Not everyone."

"First they move to Dupont Circle, then Friendship Heights, Bethesda, Rockville. They seem to follow the subway line. You know how the Japanese are..."

"Pardon me, did you say the Japanese?"

"Of course, the Japanese. They're all over. And now they're moving in down the hall. I've got to get out before it's too late."

I assured Mrs. Kramer that the Japanese hadn't as yet invaded Foggy Bottom. With that out of the way, I thought we had the matter settled. But I was wrong. As I was to learn when I opened the curtains, Mrs. Kramer couldn't stomach heights.

"Oh my God, I think I'm going to throw up," she gasped, as she edged away from the window. "God help me."

"No, look, see, I'm closing them. See?"

"I'm going to faint."

By the time she had recovered from her blackout, Mrs. Kramer was seeing things in another light.

"Maybe it could work..." I dabbed at her perspiring brow with a damp towel. "...I'll tell you what," she continued.

"Yes, what...?"

"I want to show it to my boss. He always knows what's right for me."

For whatever reasons, neither Boss nor Mrs. Kramer called back. One only hopes that she found an apartment on ground level — in a country without any Japanese.

Three weeks later, before I settled on the next suitable bidder.

Like my first candidate, Mrs. Adams, this new hopeful wanted the apartment immediately, without even needing to see it. But by now, I had wised up.

"You must, no, in fact, I insist, that you see the apartment first."

"That won't be necessary. I know I want it." From over the phone, I thought the woman was having difficulty in breathing.

"No, I insist. You have to see it first."

"Oh all right." Now I was sure. She definitely was choking.

A few minutes later, the woman appeared. She looked about 30 going on 50, with her black eye, bruise marks on the arms, and hair in tatters.

"He's been trying to strangle me," she said, a crazed look in one eye. She suddenly began to giggle, the way people about ready for the mental institution giggle. I helped her readjust her neck collar.

"Isn't there some way to stop him?" I asked.

"Well, my father is a former police chief."

"Can't he do something?"

"He says violence never solves anything. He thinks we should go to a therapist. But everytime I suggest that to my husband he starts beating me up."

Daughter-of-Police-Chief agreed to my plan. She would stay in a motel until Monday when I had finished painting the apartment. But of course the deal was too good to be true. By that following Monday all bets were off. I found her note under the door:

Dear Mr. Green:

I'm so sorry but I will not be able to move into your apartment after all. Over the weekend I went to the doctor and he tells me I'm going to have a baby in January. Charles has decided to go to a marriage counselor and we have reconciled. We are moving to Houston,

Texas, over the weekend (he has a house there). He wants to open a business and have a family after all. Please keep the deposit for your trouble. I'm sure you'll find another tenant.

Love, Cherrie & Baby

I've had about three months of this stuff. But I haven't quit yet.

Just a few minutes ago, the phone rang again.

"Hello? Are you the person with the condominium?" the voice on the phone was asking. In the background, I could hear an explosion of police sirens. "My name is Barton Fairchild. I need an apartment immediately."

This time around I had really become smart.

"No, I'm afraid you're too late," I lied.

The sirens were getting closer. Then I heard a woman's scream. "It's an emergency. I'm prepared to pay anything."

"I'm afraid it's out of the question."

"Listen, you must not understand. I'm ready to move in right now. I have the check in my hand..."



ROSES & THORNS

• ROSES TO JOHN BANZHAF AND HIS GWU LAW STUDENTS, GIL KARSON, WAYNE KAPLAN AND EVA BOOKER for suing four swank DC restaurants for requiring that males, but not females, wear coats while dining. The suit contends that the requirement is a violation of the DC Human Rights law which prohibits discrimination on the basis of personal appearance. We take our hat, coat and tie off to you.

• ROSES TO CONGRESS AND THE SMITHSONIAN for changing the name of the National Collection of Fine Arts to the National Museum of American Art. A TENTATIVE THORN, however, for the simultaneous changing of the name of the Museum of History and Technology to the National Museum of American History. One 12-year-old of our acquaintance said, "That's stupid. What kid wants to go to a museum that's just history?"

• ROSES TO THE CITY COUNCIL AND MAYOR for approving a civilian-dominated review board for the police department. The idea has been around since the sixties but it's better late than never.

• ROSES TO FRANK SMITH for reintroducing a proposal for a model academic high school.

What's Happening

BEACON COLLEGE: Beacon College is a campus-free institution operating out of Adams Morgan. It will be sponsoring workshops on street law, political economy and the media that will be open to the public for a small fee. The college also offers Associate of Arts, Bachelor of Arts and Master Degree programs. It is located at 2706 Ontario Rd. NW. Call 797-9270.

NEW BOOK ON DC HISTORY: The Columbia Historical Society has published its 50th annual volume of the Records, a collection of essays on local historical topics. The most recent edition includes pieces on the public housing controversies of the 1940s, a new look at the L'Enfant Plan, reminiscences of growing up in turn-of-the-century neighborhoods, the 1920s Negro Renaissance, the Pearl Affair, and the Capital Savings Banks, an early venture in black capitalism. The historical society has its headquarters in the Heurich Mansion at 1307 New Hampshire Ave. NW. In the past five years its membership has tripled as the interest in local history has grown. The mansion, the former home of brewer Christian Heurich, is open for tours on Fridays and Saturdays from noon to four and by appointment for groups. As of Dec. 12 the mansion will be decorated for Christmas in the Victorian style. The annual Christmastime candlelight tours will be held Dec. 12-13 from 5:30 to 7:30 and the public is welcome. The mansion also houses the society's extensive library which is open to the public 10-4, M-W-F, and noon-4 on Saturdays. For information on the Records or the Society call 785-2068.

HUD GRANT: The Metropolitan Washington Planning & Housing Association has received a \$73,000 grant from the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development to assist tenants to acquire, rehab and convert to co-op ownership 200 units of housing in ten buildings.

RENT CONTROL BOOKLET: The Housing/Study Action Group of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee has published a thirteen-point comprehensive housing policy for the city. The report suggests low-cost corrective measures that can be enacted on the local level and argues for the retention of rent and condo control, while also proposing such measures as leasing public land to housing developers, enacting a windfall profits tax on condo conversions and passage of a tenants equity act. Copies of the report are available for \$2 from Rick Rybeck, 415 5th St. SE, DC 20003.

INTERNSHIPS: The DC Public Interest Research Group has internships available for non-students and, starting next semester, for students. Programs include work on the Nestle's Boycott, banking investment, supermarket surveys, draft registration, standardized testing,

energy and environmental issues. Info: Susanne de Seife, 676-7388.

NEW BREAST SCANNER: A new diagnostic ultrasound imaging system specifically designed for early detection and diagnosis of breast disease, goes into use for the first time in this area this month at Columbia Hospital for Women. There are no demonstrated ill effects attributed to diagnostic ultrasound and no discomfort is associated with the procedure. It is predicted that ultrasound alone can detect approximate 80 percent of the pathology-proven cancers, a rate similar to that of x-ray mammography.

YULANDA WARD MEMORIAL FUND: A fund has been established to pay funeral expenses for Yulanda Ward, the co-chair of the citywide Housing Coalition who was murdered here last month. Contributions will also support a private investigation of the murder which some suspect may have been an assassination. Send contributions to Yulanda Ward Memorial Fund, c/o Rape Crisis Center, PO Box 21005, DC 20009.

APPOINTMENTS

- Ethel James Williams, formerly with the Department of Human Resources, to be director of the DC Commission for Women. She replaces Helen Lewis who resigned last summer.

- Judge Theodore Newman Jr., re-appointed chief judge of the DC Court of Appeals despite opposition by a number of his fellow judges. The DC Judicial Nominations Commission voted unanimously to reappoint Newman after he promised to correct his "shortcomings." The commission took Newman to task for actions that "on a number of occasions have not been consistent with the spirit of mutual respect for the legitimate rights of his colleagues."



PRETRIAL SERVICES AGENCY HONORED: The city's Pretrial Services Agency has been honored by the US Department of Justice with a rarely-granted award for exemplary service. The agency will also receive a \$150,000 grant to study the effects of innovative procedures which were instituted in late July. The agency checks the backgrounds of all persons arrested in the city, usually within hours, and make recommendations to the courts concerning pre-trial release status and conditions. It handles about 25,000 cases a year.

NEW BILLS

- The mayor has proposed legislation that would have the city join with 19 states in a multistate tax compact. An important part of the compact is joint audits of multi-state corporations conducted by auditors of the Multistate

Tax Commission. Last year the average return per audit dollar, expended was more than \$20. Info: Citizens for Tax Justice, 293-5340.

CITY GRANTS

- \$836,000 from HUD for the Apartment Preservation Program to develop plans to stabilize apartment buildings for low and moderate income occupancy at early stages of decline, preventing displacement and eliminating blighting influences. The program includes technical and financial assistance in the form of seed money loans for cooperative conversions and rehabilitation loans to building owners who cannot get the full amount needed from other sources.

- \$3.1 million from HUD for the First Right to Purchase Program, to provide loans to tenant associations converting to cooperatives where at least half of the households are low-income.

- \$230,000 from the federal Department of Health and Human Services for a genetic disease testing and counseling project.

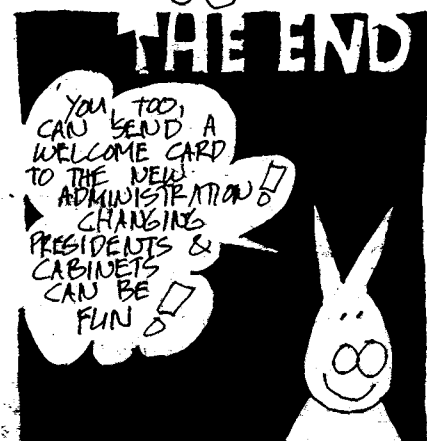
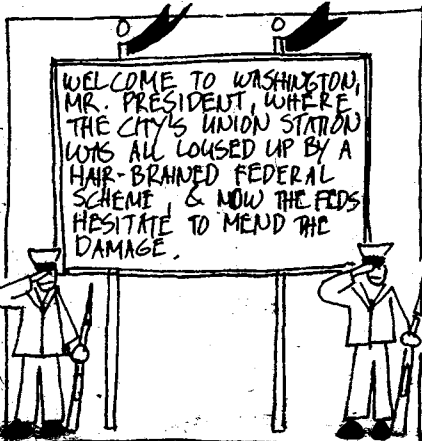
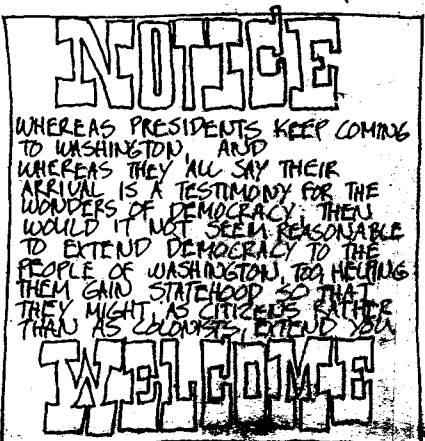
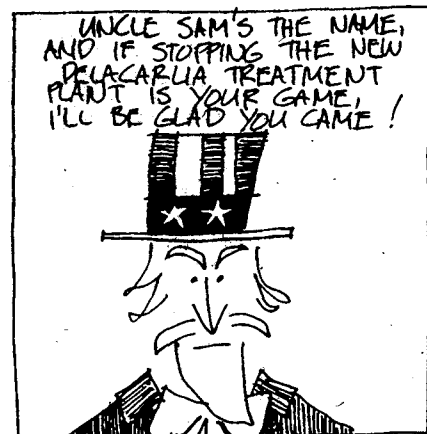
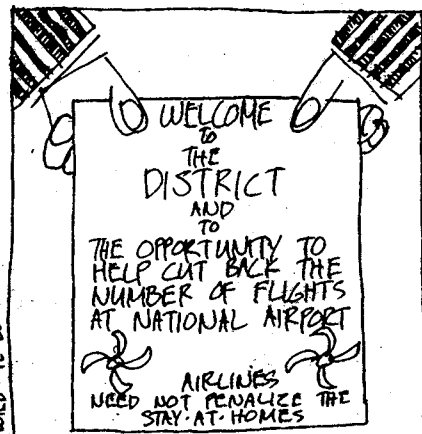
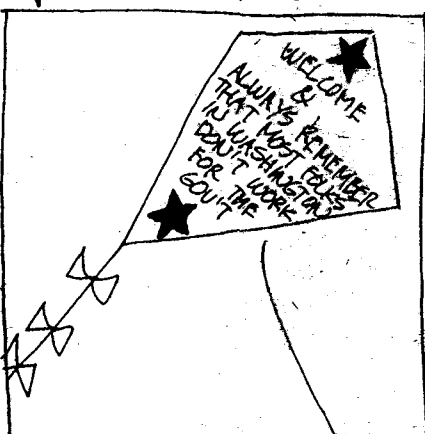
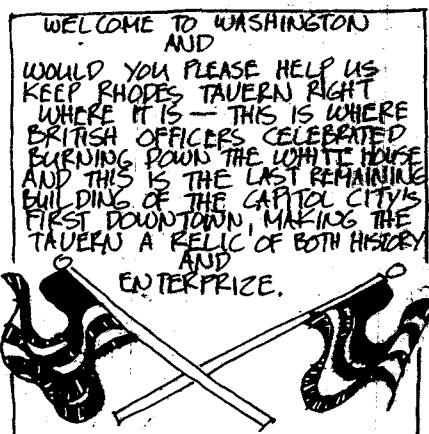
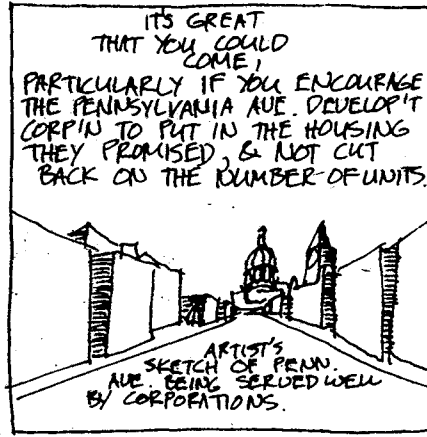
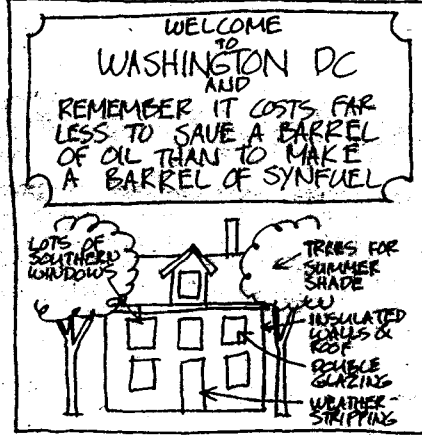
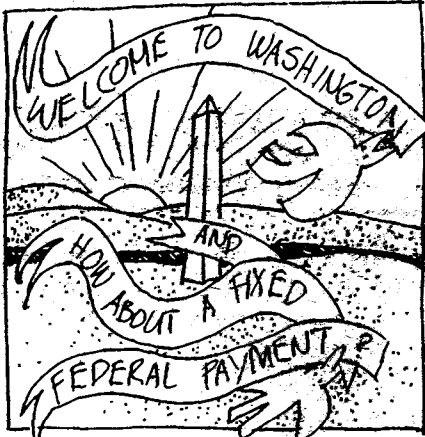
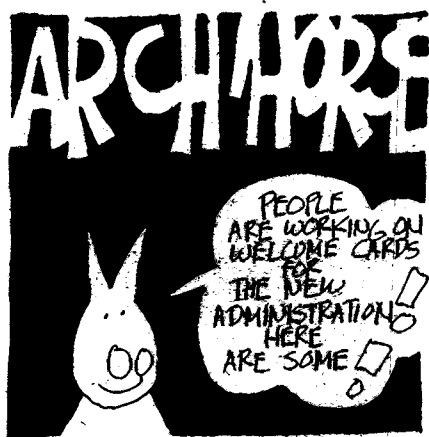
- \$333 million in federal grants for transportation including \$275 million for Metro construction made possible by the transfer of grant entitlements originally earmarked for interstate highway construction.

- Funding to establish the vehicle emission test program, which will be required as part of the city auto inspections in 1982; for purchase of special vehicles to transport the elderly and handicapped; and studies of neighborhood small buses, a Ft. Lincoln transit connector system and a Georgetown trolley system.

GASOLINE PRICES: The AAA reported last month that average gasoline prices in the nation's capital are the highest in the United States. The city's gas prices also lead in the metro area -- about 11 cents a gallon over suburban Maryland

CREATIVE WRITING WORKSHOP IN POETRY: To be led by Carol Muske during the spring semester at GWU. Open to 15 students without fees. To join send a letter of application stating name, address, telephone number, age, and brief personal history. Enclose 5-10 poems, up to ten pages (cannot be returned). Apply by Jan. 5 to Department of English, GWU, DC 20052.

COMMON CONCERNS: A new non-profit bookstore/resource center that shares space with Kramerbooks at 1347 Conn. Ave. CC provides materials produced by more than 250 local, national and international organizations --including books, pamphlets, periodicals, records, posters and notecards. It also has a bulletin board that lists job openings, announcements of meetings, group activities and special programs. Info: 463-6500.



THE DC BOOKSHELF

WHO TAKES OUT THE GARBAGE IN DC? A monograph on local solid waste management by Neil Seldman, former director of the Institute for Local Self-Reliance. \$1.

PUBLIC BANKING: A MODEL FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. A monograph on how to alter the city's banking system by William Batko of the Institute for Local Self-Reliance. \$1.

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HEALING RESOURCES: A comprehensive guide to alternative therapy, preventative medicine and holistic health practices in the metropolitan area. Originally \$5.95. Reduced to \$3.

ANSWERS: Susan Meehan's widely praised guide to community resources in DC. Where to go for help, how to deal with various problems etc. Truly useful. Send \$4.95.

STATEHOOD T-SHIRT: Light blue with dark blue lettering. Reads "End Capital Punishment. Support DC Statehood. "DC Gazette" in small letters below. State size: only small and medium left. \$4.75.

STATEHOOD BUMPER STICK: Same legend as above. \$2.50

CAPTIVE CAPITAL: Sam Smith tells the story of non-federal Washington. "Not only well worth reading, but it is the best book we are likely to read on Washington," Bryce Nelson of the LA Times. "An excellent gift," Bill Raspberry in the Washington Post. "Must Reading," Afro-American. "A joy to read," Robert Cassidy in the Chicago Tribune. \$10.

BOSS SHEPHERD AND THE BOARD OF PUBLIC WORKS. The fascinating tale of DC's only true political boss and perhaps the most controversial figure in local history. \$3.

YESTERDAY'S WASHINGTON: A photographic history of our city that all lovers of DC will want to have. 20% off at \$7.95.

JOHN WIEBENSON'S MAP OF WASHINGTON: Done in Wieb's wry and pointed style, this map was drawn for the Bicentennial and is now available for 40% off at \$1.50.

WASHINGTON: Constance Green's Pulitzer Prize-winning two-volume history of Washington is now available in paperback for only \$7.50. The basic book of DC history.

ZOO BOOK: Photo-filled book on what's in the National Zoo and how it's cared for. 60% off the list price. \$2.

C&O OLD PICTURE ALBUM: 40% off list price. \$2.95.